

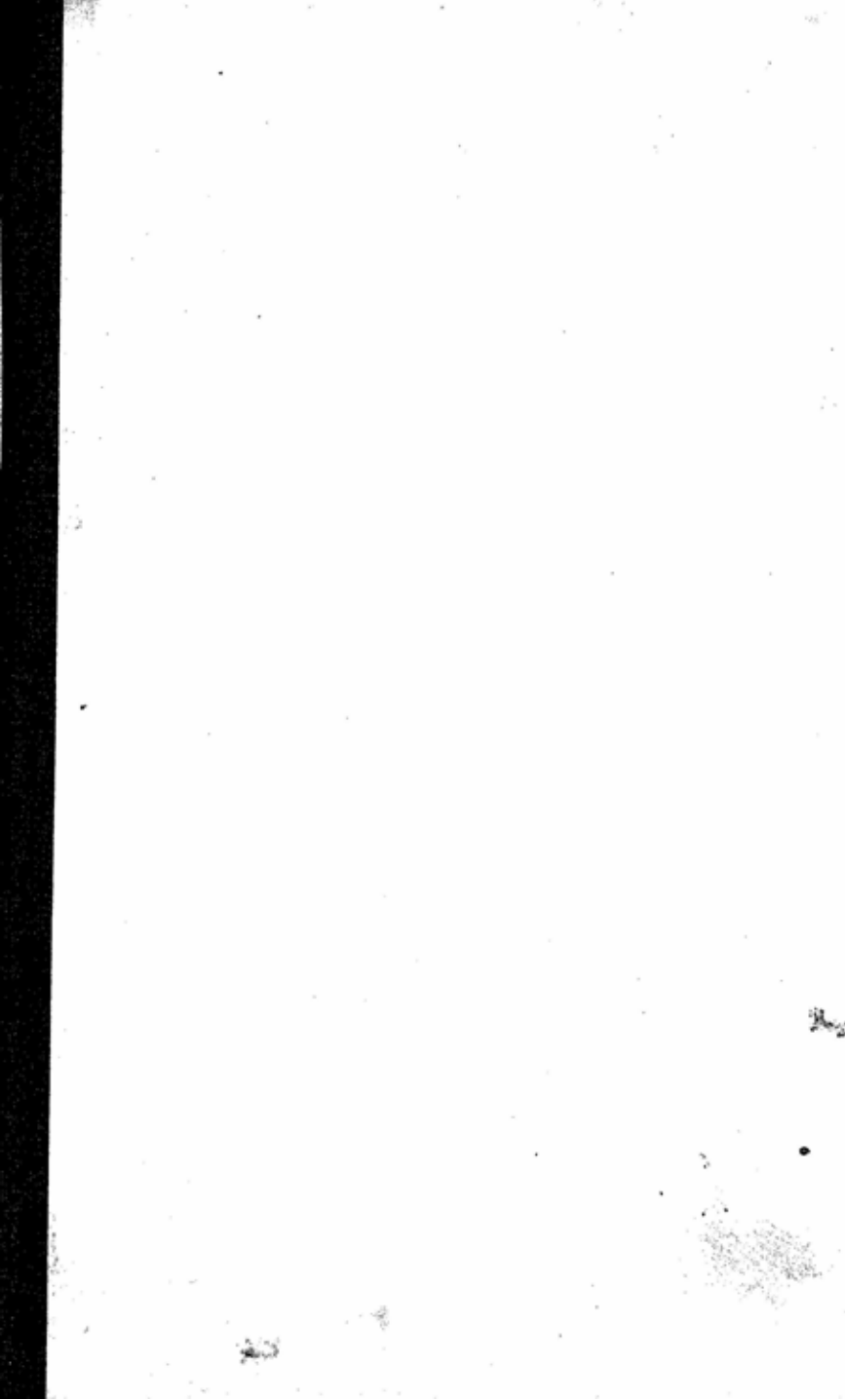
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OUR CULTURAL¹⁵⁴ HERITAGE

*Some of the Essentials of Indian
Civilization*

By

Dr. Ishwara Topa

*Reader in History of Indian Culture
Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan)*

FOREWORD BY
SAROJINI NAIDU

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By the same author

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL
THOUGHT IN INDIA (*Friederichsen, de
Gruyter & Co., Hamburg, 1930*)

SIDELIGHTS ON THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN
NATIONALITY (*Kitabistan, Allahabad
1933*)

POLITICS IN PRE-MUGHAL TIMES (*Kitabistan,
Allahabad, 1938*)



FOREWORD

In this little book, Dr. Ishwara Topa, of the Osmania University, has made a valuable and original contribution to the complex and fascinating story of India's cultural evolution. He possesses a keen and vivid sense of historic perspective and narrative, and a new and individual approach to old, familiar themes.

In dealing with the earlier centuries of Indian civilization, Dr. Topa deviates from a long-accepted tradition and fixes the pre-Aryan epoch of Dravidian influence and achievement as the authentic genesis of India's cultural life. With admirable skill, he builds up his thesis of the Aryan adventure in India—the initial and ultimate phases of the growth of Aryan power, its ideals and institutions; the gradual rise of priestcraft as a dominating and tyrannical factor in the State; the revolt against the evil supremacy of priestcraft by new protestant schools of forest-dwellers in search of intellectual and spiritual freedom; and finally, the birth of the two beneficent and splendid movements of Jainism and Buddhism which have left an imperishable heritage to the Indian people.

In the second portion of his book, which is a brief but pregnant chronicle of the changing and coloured pageant of 'Indo-Muslim' kingship, from Mahmud of Ghazni to the magnificent Emperor Akbar, Dr. Topa gives a brilliant and penetrating analysis of the rich and enduring influence of the Islamic era of kingship on a *common national culture and a common national life*. We may or may not concur with him in all his historic assumptions, premises, or his predilections for the mediæval age and spirit, but all of us must surely share his hope and faith for the future of our common Mother Country as a free, proud, united, undivided and indivisible India.

Hyderabad (Deccan)

1940

SAROJINI NAIDU

PREFACE

This little book is an attempt at the elucidation of synthetical factors in the evolution of Indian culture and civilization. It does not merely narrate all the phases of our cultural life in the past. Some outstanding aspects of the cultural heritage of India are purposely taken up for reorientation. Our past civilization is depicted in contrasting colours. The light and shade of our social evolution are reflected in cultural factors—assimilative, formative, and progressive as well as arresting and disintegrating.

In the course of exposition of the theme the author has brought out the importance of the ever-living upward urge of the *real* India towards freedom of thought and spirit in the social domain as against the dead forms of a priestcraft civilization, which has left an indelible mark on the face of India.

The first portion of the book is devoted to the study of cultural trends in Ancient India in the light of sociological interpretation. In it the author has tried to trace the causes of decadence of our national life. The second portion describes

the politico-cultural aspect of the medieval time. The evolution of the Indo-Muslim king is its theme. The author's contention is that politics of the Muslim kings had a cultural foundation. Herein lay their greatness as past rulers of our country.

In the end the author wishes to express his deep sense of gratitude to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for writing a Foreword to the book. He is also thankful to his younger brother—Mr. P. N. Topa—who has taken immense pains to do the proof-reading for him.

Allahabad

June 6, 1940

I. TOPA

CULTURAL TRENDS IN ANCIENT INDIA



I

India is an ancient country whose history goes back into hoary antiquity. She had passed through ages and civilizations. Each age and civilization had left its imperishable stamp on the genius of our country. In many respects Ancient India is sphinx-like, baffling, and awe-inspiring. To understand and estimate her cultural values, standards, and patterns is no easy task even for a student of history. This is due to the uniqueness of her thought-processes, the variety of her social patterns and behaviours, and the multi-colourfulness of her life. Such a multiplicity in thought and life is the net result of her cultural forces. During the course of her cultural evolution these dynamic forces shaped the trend of events in India. Hence the cultural problem of India is intricate.

We shall now try to interpret the significance of the interplay of such forces in their formative and assimilative aspects in Ancient India. For some time past historians used to commence the traditional and racial history of Ancient India with the incoming of the Aryans who, as it was supposed, brought with them culture, refinement, philosophy, religion, and moral standards, and impregnated the

country with their socio-religious and political ideas and ideals. But the recent research in the social history of Ancient India at once repudiates and sets at naught the pretensions and haughty claims of the Aryans as harbingers of culture. Since 1922 the Aryan theory has received not only a set-back, but has receded into the farthest background. A new racial element of no minor importance has come into the field not only to play its role in the making of Indian civilization, but to oust and outrival the Aryans and to discredit the Aryan achievement in order to establish its priority and superiority over the Aryan 'intruder'.

The Mohenjodaro and Harappa excavations, which have been in progress since 1922, have served as a treasure-house of historical data in constructing an absolutely new history of our ancient times. These have also helped us in revising our old cultural values. This reorientation in the history of Ancient India has revolutionized our ideas and we have begun to look at the Dravidian life and world with appreciation and regard. It is now a *fait accompli* that before the advent of the Aryans, Indian civilization was moulded by the Dravidian factors and influences. The Dravidians were a cultured people who had settled in North-Western India. The traces of their culture are found today in the 'Dead City of Mohenjodaro' which bears testimony to the fact that the Dravidians of Mohenjo-

darō had evolved a high type of city civilization and culture and that among the cultural achievements of other countries of the Mohenjodaro-Harappa period, India was not behind the times. She maintained the closest relations with the contemporaneous civilizations of Sumer, Crete, and Mesopotamia and must have exerted her influence in the shaping of cultural life of other countries as the civilizations of Sumer and Mesopotamia had influenced the mind of the people of Mohenjodaro. To establish the claim to cultural superiority of one country over another is still a moot point. Further it is difficult to say the last word on the success of the cultural mission of the Dravidian people. The contribution of the Sumer-Mesopotamian civilization to our social progress is a subject that requires still deeper research. We can say this much with certainty that the Dravidians were a cultured race and had made amazing progress in changing life from the barbaric to a civilized stage. They represented a type of civilization which had attempted to urbanize life. The Mohenjodaro-Harappa excavations give us an idea that the people lived in cities and tackled the problems of city life in a manner most unique for the age in which they lived. This gives a clue to their 'civic' sense. The urbanization of their lives seems to have reached a high watermark. There is ample evidence to show that they also

attempted to culturalize themselves. The life of the people of Mohenjodaro and Harappa was governed by their social and religious concepts and ideologies. We are however not in a lucky position to pass our final verdict on the real significance of their religious thought, ideal, and life, though we have been able, to a great extent, to estimate their religious psychology. On the basis of recent research we can hazard an opinion that the forces of Nature and the law of life attracted their attention and thought and they interpreted and symbolized them according to their crude ideas. The way to master the life-force is depicted in their Yogic technique, which had a lasting influence on the later aspects of Indian religious development. They dreaded the malevolent forces in Nature. In their social life religion had also played an important part and the religious force was utilized in fighting evil influences and disease.

We have so far seen that before the incoming of the Aryans the Indian world was permeated with Dravidian ideas and its social institutions were the product of the indigenous culture. The Dravidian people, who enjoyed an enviable and sovereign position, were challenged by a juvenile race which had not only changed the civilizations of other countries, but had also influenced, to a considerable extent, the cultural development of our country. This race was no other than the

Aryans, who came to India not in the capacity of an 'educator'. Nor were they surcharged with the spirit of a missionary to teach the people of India 'a new gospel' and to 'civilize' them. Their inner urge that goaded them on the way to India was the satisfaction of material wants. It was the economic determinant that impelled them to move on towards India. The earliest traces of social history of the Aryans, which have come down to us, are preserved in the Rigveda which gives us an insight into the sociological problem of Aryan life and the Aryan world. The Aryan life and mind, as depicted in the Rigveda, is presented from the Aryan point of view and it betrays a partisan in the evaluation of Dravidian culture. The Aryans symbolized the nobility of spirit and action. They had no appreciation for the social standards and institutions of the people who belonged to a different race. Their colossal indifference to and disregard for the Dravidian social life and institutions is too evident in the Rigveda. The Aryans did not like the people of India and exhibited an inveterate hatred and repugnance for the Dravidian way of life. The Aryans held that the Dravidian people had neither religious belief nor morality. They lacked religiosity and the perfect speech. The Dravidian racial type—short-stature, flat-nose and black colour—had no attraction and charm for the Aryans who were self-possessed

and self-centred. They had their own world of men and gods to move in and about. We have no Dravidian evidence to endorse the Aryan claim to superiority and to disprove the Dravidian inferiority of culture. The Aryan speaks through the Rigveda and establishes his claim. The Dravidian leaves behind the 'Dead City of Mohenjodaro' to make himself articulate and keeps mum. The uncharitable criticism on Dravidian civilization and culture was due to the hostile attitude of the Aryans towards their enemies—the Dravidians, whom they had to fight in order to conquer India for their settlements. We may remark in this connection that the nature of the struggle for the capture of land and then ultimately for power on the part of the Aryans was relentless and fierce. The war-cry became intenser and louder in their encounters with the Dravidian foes. On the basis of the Rigvedic evidence we can safely infer that the state of warfare lasted for years with a view to acquiring power over the Aryan adversary whose strength was not below par. They were superior in number and strength and had fortified cities and huge paraphernalia of warfare to resist the onslaughts of the Aryans. It is stated explicitly that they ruled big kingdoms also. We have not been able to fathom the real cause of the Aryan victory over the Dravidian people. The Aryan interpretation is that the aid given to them

by celestial bodies in their wars against the foes was responsible for deciding the issue in their favour. The Aryan victory brought in its wake material prosperity and happiness of home. It signified to the Aryans the ultimate victory of Righteousness over untruth and irreligion. This is how the Aryan in the intoxication of power and material well-being interpreted his own mind. But the historical truth seems to lie in other factors of sociological importance. It was in fact the victory of the hardy and mobile race over the less-aggressive and the cultured stay-at-home people; it was the triumph of the 'new' technique of warfare, of diplomacy and chicanery in politics over the less effective, old, and 'out-of-date' methods of pursuing wars; it was the unconquerable and unshakeable faith of the Aryans in the rightness of their cause, that was espoused even by their gods. This celestial inspiration evoked in the Aryans patriotic fervour and they fought their foes as zealots. Hence the Aryans succeeded in holding the key-position and became the new masters of the country. But in spite of their political strength and status they could not exterminate the entire Dravidian population. Some of the Dravidian kingdoms were destroyed; others had to forgo their independence and were brought under political control; some retained at great cost their nominal independence as 'federated' states. During the wars the

Aryans not only took possession of towns, but captured the Dravidian population also. The major portion of the captives was reduced to serfdom. We have so far seen the arrogant behaviour of the conqueror in the Aryan.

We shall now discuss in broad outlines the social organization of the Aryans who conquered our country. The Aryans lived in small groups. Their social unit was the family. The patriarch was the pivot of family activities. He ruled the Aryan home and kept alive Aryan traditions. He was the protector of family life as well as the promoter of family interests. The Aryan patriarch was also a power in social polity because the Aryan families were knitted into one common cultural heritage. In social affairs the patriarchs wielded control and influence on the general Aryan life. But in his own home he did not enjoy the position of the sole monarch. The Aryan woman also had to play her part in various capacities as a mistress of the house, as a wife, and as a mother. Due respect was also shown to her and the force of her personality was not disregarded. She had not merely to perform duties as a drudge but as a woman she was given freedom in the exercise of her rights. Aryan society was not rigid in its structural form but was mobile. Every Aryan was free. His social status was determined by his position in life which did not deprive him of his individual rights

of freedom and equality in the scale of social justice. The Aryan remained an Aryan irrespective of his station in life. In the Rigveda there is enough evidence to prove that there was no stratification in Aryan society—a feature which was a later phase of Aryan life in India. Aryan society was based on a class-sense and class-differentiation. It did not negate the individual right to freedom and advancement. It rested upon the actions and capacities of the Aryan individual to raise himself to the highest or to lower himself to the lowest in social life. Society put no obstacles in his way to progress. To be born low did not ostracize the Aryan. Despite his low birth and penury he retained his Aryanship. During the Rigvedic period the Aryans were proud of their racial mobility. The caste-ghost had not seized them yet. They were in fact caste-free and casteless. The social evolution was determined by their racial assimilative process. They had freedom to marry in any group or class without reservations. The question of matrimony did not concern the family so much as the individual who had much to say in the matter. It entirely depended on his right of choice or selection of a mate. The family consent was nominal. This shows that the Aryans were grown-up people who exercised their intelligence and will in the selection of a comrade in life. There is ample documentary evidence to postulate that

even in the pre-marital stage the Aryan grown-up boys and girls were given opportunities to meet and form friendships with a view to enter into marriage. It may be observed in this connection that there was sanction for various legalized forms of marriage in Aryan society. This gives an indication of the period of transition through which Aryan society was passing and adjusting itself to the environmental influences. The rich, the powerful, and the privileged married many wives, but the average Aryan was satisfied with one wife. In their social evolution the Aryans soon realized the defectiveness of the institution of polygamy as it was directly responsible for the unhappiness of their homes. They deprecated and disapproved of it, but could not succeed in ending it. They also failed to codify monogamy as the only legal form of marriage and to annul the legality of the other co-eval forms of marriage. Whether these forms of marriage were ancient Aryan customs, or these were due to the institutional influences of the Aryanized Dravidians we are not in a position to commit ourselves to any definite statement.

Let us now shift our attention to the religious world of the Aryans. Its study is fascinating, as it will enable us to estimate the value of their religious laws in relation to their mental and spiritual development. The Aryans were the fondest children of Nature. They lived in Nature and with

Nature. The outlook on life and world was influenced by their conception of the forces of Nature. But it was not the malevolent force in Nature in its dreadful and life-crushing manifestations that moulded their psychology. It was rather the benevolent aspect of Nature which helped the Aryans in the development of their mental and spiritual faculties to the fullest. They were free from depressing inhibitions, and had no idea of fear and dread in the subconscious mind. Nature taught them to retain naturalness and freshness in their lives, to inspire hopefulness, to revel in enjoyment and to maintain liveliness and livingness. The philosophy of naturalism coloured their religious ideas. They visualized in Nature powerful and life-promoting forces. The Aryans attributed to these their happiness and prosperity. The Aryan was in fact a primitive student of Nature. To understand the laws of the forces of Nature was beyond him. He interpreted their significance from the utilitarian standpoint and came to know about their value in relation to man and society. The Aryan did not worry himself about the scientific explanation of the why and how of those forces. But he was positive and assertive in his ideas about them. His conviction was that they had real existence and possessed latent powers of understanding the ways of the world and of men. They had all the human senses, but they were at the same time

superhuman, guiding and controlling the destiny of men and the forces of the world. The Aryan not only anthropomorphized the forces of Nature, but deified them also. The Aryan gods created by the Aryan mind and worshipped by the Aryan heart, were the personified forces of Nature. They were the staunchest friends and the sincerest well-wishers of the Aryan community; they were real protectors of the Aryan interest and firm supporters of the Aryan cause; they were also in accord with the Aryan life; they were ever ready to help the Aryans in their dire need and distress; they were gracious in their benediction and charity. The Aryan in all devoutness and faith thanked the gods for the bestowal of happiness and prosperity and prayed fervently for more worldly prosperity and power. The gods had made the Aryans not only cheerful and bright but also hopeful about his future. His buoyancy of spirits was due to his gods. The Aryan lived in his gods every moment of his life and they were the fountain-head of all his activities. His sense of over-confidence in his own self was an indirect result of his intimacy with the gods with whom he was in the closest touch. His firm belief in the rightness of his thought and his action was a living fact which even the gods recognized. The Aryan had a god-sense and was god-permeated in his ideas and god-sustained in his walks of life. His absorption in the gods inspired him to live

like a real Aryan—a noble, a god-like human being. So long as he remained true to his gods, he was a power; he had ideals before him to aspire to; he was aristocratic in his behaviour and imbued with the Aryan-sense. He acted and lived upto the gods of his own creation. We have so far described the Rigvedic Aryan as he was once. But his whole personality under Indian conditions changed tremendously. It was impossible to recognize him after his metamorphosis.

In the course of time an enhanced social and political position of the Aryan in India brought about an imperceptible though a radical change in his outlook on the world and life. The idea of political domination had also disturbed his old Aryan-sense of tribal loyalty, feeling, and spirit and created in him a craving for absolute power in order to rule over his own people not in the capacity of an Aryan representative but as a paramount lord. This political tendency in the Aryan life ultimately destroyed the rudimentary elements of social homogeneity and led to the formation of a new social order, based on hierarchical distinctions. It was in fact the predominance of political factors that conditioned the change in the structure of Aryan society. The new land and its power, which came into the hands of the Aryans, exerted new gradation of social readjustment and as a powerful economic agent it eventually changed the shape-

of-things-to-come. The Aryan, as a conqueror, lived in his own dreamland without realizing the gravity and intensity of social, political, ethnic, ethical and religious forces, that were not dead, but were living and were producing live reactions. With the strides of time he saw the creation of a new India without expecting to witness the birth of his own creation which had traits of the Aryan father, but the Dravidian maternal resemblance so evident in the psychological make-up of the Aryo-Dravidian child was something new and startling for the Aryan himself. Subconsciously, he had been responsible for the coming up of a new civilization reared up on the fusion of cultures—Aryan and Dravidian. This was due to the infiltration of the Dravidian elements and influences into the Aryan society. The Dravidian atmosphere and social condition reacted on the Aryan mind and toned down his airs of haughtiness and his sense of exclusive isolation and aligned him with the Dravidian life. The Dravidian woman was a driving force in compelling the Aryan to recognize her cultural quota in the building up of an Aryo-Dravidian civilization. She was absorbed by Aryan society and finally became part and parcel of Aryan life. She came into the Aryan fold not of her free will, but as a booty of war. Her contribution to the Aryan civilization was not in the least negligible, but was of far-reaching and

everlasting consequences. Through the Dravidian mother the language of the Aryans was considerably affected. The Aryans began to speak a new language which was different from the pure and chaste and unadulterated Sanskrit of their ancestors. A new synthesis in the Aryan language due to the influx of the Dravidian words was its chief feature, though these had been Sanskritized. The influence of the Dravidian matriarchical system also became evident on Aryan society in the use of matronymic instead of patronymic surnames. This phase of the Indo-Aryan society reveals the fact that the Dravidian mother had succeeded in moulding the atmosphere of the Aryan home. The Aryan society also succumbed to the dynamic force of the Dravidian religious conceptions. Even the post-Rigvedic civilization was no longer a true specimen of the pure Aryan culture, though it was punctuated with sharp touches of Aryanism.

The drift towards a new cultural synthesis was a marked feature of the age in which new formative forces were determining the constituent parts of the Indo-Aryan society. The caste-free social organization was coming under rigours of the new caste-forming laws. There were no signs of the caste concepts and forms in the early Aryan society nor was the structure of the Dravidian society based on the principles of caste. Different theories on the origin of the caste system

in India have been expounded. The racial factor, the philosophy of action, the divine sanctions, the basic idea in political domination and the occupational bias have been their subject of approach to caste and its problems. But none of these have so far been able to explain caste as a factor of social control. The sociological study has fairly succeeded in solving its origin and its implications. The interplay of social forces and their reactions led to the formation of a new social order having caste as its fulcrum.

As the interpenetration of the Dravidian social factors had contributed to the abnormal change in the outlook of the Aryan 'conqueror', the spirit and form of the Indo-Aryan society also adapted itself to the changed conditions of life and world. It was a new society in which the 'conqueror' and the 'conquered' were helping to form new ethical values and patterns of life. The Aryan domination could not succeed in destroying the old Dravidian social life, but it scored a moral and political victory over Dravidians by superimposition of Aryan culture. The new Indo-Aryan society was neither Aryan nor Dravidian, but a composite of cultural assets of both the races. In this connection it may be remarked that the old stock of the Aryan race had been naturalized and it had drifted afar from the pure form of Aryanism. The 'degeneration' of the Aryan himself was a cause for the

Dravidianization of Aryan life. The Aryan masses who shifted their centre of gravity to the Dravidian world not only lost their old sense of Aryanism, but also formed no binding link with the non-Dravidianized Aryans who retained their pristine culture and their prerogatives as Aryans. The attempt on the part of the Aryan conqueror to regulate life from the Aryan point of view and to retain political and social domination and preeminence over the Indo-Aryan masses resulted in the formation of caste as an institution of social control. It was a natural social process, a way-out, to solve the intricate problem of social readjustment in the light of group-settings without destroying the 'harmonious' conditions of life. It aimed at the retention of social harmony both in the Aryan and the Dravidian society. The interconnection of group life was regulated by the engines of social control—the caste laws. Priestcraft gave it a final stroke and interpreted caste as a divine ordinance. Institutionalization of caste modified the disintegrating force in the Indo-Aryan society. The divine will behind caste worked as a corrective for the prevention of further fusion of races into a nation. It bluntly disapproved of the forces of assimilation but encouraged the separatist groupings of people of diverse races under a new social and cultural pattern. Caste became emphatic in the regulation of social affairs. The idea working through the

caste-ridden society was to strike a balance between forces of opposite nature. It allowed groups to unfold their potentialities within group sanctions and taboos, but did not allow them to fuse into a homogeneous community. The groups were all-in-all a power and had to limit their activities and movements according to their group-sense and behaviour. The individual as a human personality found no place in the scheme of group culture. His purpose of life, of loyalty, and of faith was pre-conditioned by the group in which he was born. His social group absorbed him without his volition. He became group-centred and lived in and for the group only. Caste only recognized groups and their laws and traditions. But it failed to arouse among groups a sense of integratedness, of togetherness, and of oneness. It also failed to inculcate in the mind of the individual nationalistic fervour. The groups thrived and survived as separate social entities without interconnection with or interdependence on one another. Now the question arises: how it was possible through the agency of caste to avoid friction and clash between groups and groups. The question can be easily answered, if one bears in mind the ultimate object of caste as an institution of social control. The aim of caste was the creation of social harmony and the prevention of social discord. To bring about social harmony it was or-

dained that each social group—Aryan, Dravidian, or Aryo-Dravidian—was to be assigned a status or position in society in view of the acceptance or refusal of the Aryan authority and had to perform its own specific duties. In the evolution of the caste system political, racial, economic, and cultural factors played no nominal part in determining the real status of the groups. It was the Aryan scheme to deaden the spirit of revolt and disobedience to social laws in the general masses of people and to compel them to acknowledge the superiority of the Aryan mind and spirit. To capitalize it, religious formulas were evolved to check the assertive life of the groups and to hasten the fall of the individual. The regulation of group life through caste laws restricted the free-play and expression of aesthetic and emotional activities in the society as a whole.

On the basis of the Dharmasastric data which throw light on the inner history of caste in its evolutionary process, it becomes clear that caste in its later development aimed in vain at the purification of the Aryan race. It tried to achieve its objective by controlling the feminine element of society. The woman was stigmatized and was ultimately deprived of her inborn right to live according to her desire or ambition. This social drive towards the restriction of her freedom resulted in her fall in the long run. The woman was no

more an emancipated personality, but became a slave of man. The socializing force of woman in the Indo-Aryan society disappeared. Man-made laws and man-viewpoints decided her fate. As a woman she was dead. Her contribution to the cultural life of the people was not positive, assertive, and realistic. It was negative and superficial. Though in the Dharmasastric literature certain feminine types were extolled because of their socio-religious and racial eminence, yet their implicit obedience and adherence to the laws of caste was imperative. The superiority of the feminine culture due to the influence of woman in the society was not given a place of honour and esteem. The laws of caste weighed the woman and branded her according to the standards of her group life. The idealistic woman was the Dharmasastric ideal and was an instrument of its propaganda. But the average realist type of womanhood did not interest and concern the codifiers of law, because she had not aligned her life with their ideal. Hence the status of woman as a woman was not determined by her cultural and social contacts and influences, but by the laws of caste. It was not the upward urge to humanize society by the feminine forces and factors, but to restrict her force in a way as to lower her personality and status. The laws of caste as depicted in the Dharmasastric literature reveal the fact that

the place of woman in the group life was conditioned by her action in life. She rises and falls and with her rise or fall her progeny elevates or degrades itself.

Such restrictions on the movements and activities of human beings were responsible for the perpetuation of the institution of caste and the creation of the myriad ramifications in caste, because the life-force violated the laws of caste. These did not lead to the assimilation of racial factors in the making of a living society but disintegratedness was its life-form. The caste system would never have sustained or survived the shocks of racial contacts in spite of all its manipulations to formulate 'elastic' rigidity, had it not been for priestcraft which moulded the minds of the people in a fashion to suit the exigency of the times and to dominate over the masses unquestioned and unchallenged. Priestcraft symbolized a divine rule. Its gracious touch sanctified and its satanic wrath cursed races—men, women, and children. It cultivated talismanic powers to overawe kings and plebeian. It even usurped Godhood and became the maker and unmaker of people, institutions, traditions, and laws. The priest class in Ancient India monopolized the seat of human intelligence and was its custodian. After the denationalization of Aryan a new synthesis of social forces made itself felt in the Indo-Aryan society, and its unchecked

development would have changed completely the trend of Aryanism into an Indo-Aryan civilization. Its dynamic force was of a formative nature. It is true that it was a menace for pure Aryanism as it was bound to engulf it. Even the vast Aryan population was caught in its meshes. In the course of centuries the Indo-Aryan civilization had de-Aryanized the Aryan. The new power that emerged in the Indo-Aryan society was priestcraft. Its aim was twofold: First, to revive Aryanism as a racial principle, and second, to interpret the spirit of Aryanism as a *Weltanschauung*. The revival of Aryanism as a race problem was even beyond the scope and power of priestcraft, because the Aryan in India had changed through the ages of his existence to such an extent that it was impossible to recognize the old elements of Aryanhood in his mental, emotional, and spiritual cast. He had forgotten his old culture and his old Aryanism was a past dream for him. He was a phantom as an Aryan. The movement of racial revival did not succeed in the establishment of the ancient Aryan ways of life and thought but it succeeded in inaugurating an autocratic social order, based on the aristocracy of racial and intellectual factors. From the national standpoint it complicated the social problem of India, as it was not possible for the revivalist movement to discard the social forces and institutions of the Indo-Aryan society.

Within the framework of the codification of laws these had to be recognized as legal entities. The most sinister effect of the autocratic way of dealing with social problems was the effacement of all traces of healthy development of races and the stratification of innumerable grades in the Indo-Aryan society. In this connection it may be observed that the real India had always started movements as a challenge against the guiding-spirit of priestcraft and as a defiance against the dead level in order to humanize and equalize life and society.

The second problem was the problem of the regulation of religious life of the people from the priestcraft standpoint. It was also a bold step towards a revival of the spirit of Aryanism. As the priest was the intellectualist of the age he began to reinterpret the ancient civilization of Aryans which was in its last dying spasms. The priest became the spokesman of a new culture. He claimed to be a continuation of the Old, but the advocacy of the New in appearance and spirit was its work. He had its own cultural viewpoints to advocate in order to renew or revitalize the society and preached the philosophy of sacerdotalism with a view to establishing a new social order. Its cardinal principle was the priest who explained the mysterious law underlying the world and the social institutions according to his lights and reasonings.

He was the central pivot, the radiant power, the abiding law, and the moving spirit. He enjoyed a sovereign position and dictated his own terms to the rich and the poor, the powerful and the weak, man and woman alike. The key to worldly and divine knowledge was in his hands. As a torch-bearer he showed the way to social reorganization. The guide and the philosopher in him kept an eye on the ways of society in order to 'discipline' or 'codify' life. His aim was not the popularization of knowledge. His was a secret of the esoteric circle, a mysterious formula, a talismanic word, and a magical ritual. The priest took the greatest care and caution in shrouding its mysterious power lest it should be exposed to the sunlight of human reason. He feared 'overexposure'. He conceived and saw power—an absolute power—in the sanctimonious 'word'. It was worked either for the good or for the destruction of man. Thus priestcraft not only interpreted the technique and implication of the 'word' but developed itself into an institutional power. Kings and gods even were at the mercy of the forceful personality of the priest who had begun to rule over both the kingdoms of the earth and the heaven. In the struggle for power and control the priest enunciated a new philosophy of social welfare. It was not the history of social evolution as a philosophy which he wished to broadcast. But his was an attempt at an explana-

tion of the preservation of social gradations.

The priest saw in the creation of the caste system a manifestation of the divine will. The philosophy of caste, as described by the priest, was not the philosophy of human will and action. It was more or less a pre-ordained, pre-fixed, and pre-conditioned arrangement for the regulation of human life. The stratification of society on caste principles had a divine sanctity and purpose. It was not the human but the divine will and effort which moulded and controlled social ways and social behaviour of groups. That man-is-born, not-made, is the pet song of the priest. In the scheme of caste there was scope for the further evolution of man, not in this life, but in the here-after stages, if he exerted to live up to the standards of the priest. In a way life as such was a passing phase in the evolution of man. It was not considered as something positive and real. It was in fact the negation of life rather than the fulfilment of life which the priest advocated. To him only the present life was a fulfilment, an end, a completion. Others had to struggle, acquire, and accomplish what he had already achieved by his birth-certificate. He had passed evolution as a man but others were to go through the process of evolution for the completion of their manhood. He stood at the apex of society as a perfected man—the ideal of humanity to be followed by others.

The philosophy of caste was the product of his mind in order to rule over generations after generations as a living paramount lord of the world. The strength and the weakness of the whole scheme of caste lay in its divine source. To question it was to pay the penalty in the form of social ostracism or social degradation. To fight it was to incur the wrath of gods or God. To accept it as an article of the Dharmic faith is to invite the benediction of the gods and the priest. Hence caste was not only a device for the regulation of social order, but it was also a Dharma. In other words, social laws were religionized through the most effective and powerful agency of caste. Indirectly it became the living source for the justification of the Dharmic laws. Caste without the Dharmic sanctions and taboos could never have survived. Caste ultimately became synonymous with the Dharmic laws. It was indeed the masterful stroke of the perverted genius of the priest who in order to help in the survival of his own creation interpreted caste as Dharma which was as sacred and dear to the people as their life to them. In the historical evolution of India caste did triumph but at the expense of national unity and solidarity. It was the antithesis of nationality. It only kept the balance of social forces. As a social fulcrum it served its purpose, but it did not assist in the progression of life. Its contribution to the people

of our country was baneful and unhealthy.

The next phase in the social history of Ancient India was a revolt against the standardization of social patterns, the ritualistic form of religion, and the culture of the city. This new movement of revolt was not a mass movement of anti-social tendencies but it was undoubtedly a movement towards the freedom of man and woman from the shackles of priestcraft. It heralded the way to an intellectual reaction against the tyranny of social laws, the blind spirit of caste, the absolute power of priestcraft, and the dead weight of a dead culture. It was a renewed attempt at the exploration of possibilities for the creation of a new and vigorous type of culture and civilization. It was reared in the lap of Nature as a reaction against the culture of the city. The microscopic minority of the intellectualist 'forest-dwellers' who sought in Nature the panacea for all social evils was the leading light of the new movement. To them the city life was corrupt, base, and harmful for the evolution of man. It spoilt man, as his contact with Nature was disturbed leading finally to his complete denaturalization. The socialization of human instincts, behaviour, and life had upset the progress of man. His redemption lay in the thorough understanding of the laws of Nature in order to understand his own laws thoroughly. So man was Nature personified and a composite

of the forces of Nature. In some respects this new movement attempted to revivify the old, though dead, Nature-sense and Nature-emotionalism of the ancient Aryans. A Nature-inspired expression of a new culture in the ideology of those 'forest-dwellers' was a revolt against the established order of things. It was the pure spirit of Naturalism with the strongest dash of philosophic penetration that changed it into a new school of thought to wield influence on the civilizations of the world. The philosophy of these 'forest-dwellers' destroyed the fundamental principles of social life as conceived and planned by priestcraft. The superimposition of certain forms of social control on the diverse grades of society as mechanical contrivances not only retarded the growth of man, but was also anti-Nature in spirit and function. The laws of caste functioned in order to legalize the victimization of man and kept intact the regulation of human affairs from the point of view of the socio-divine philosophy. The scheme of caste under the priestcraft guidance and dictation aimed at social equipoise. It denied social freedom to society. The new philosophy of revolt against the so-called 'socialization' of man and society was anti-social in form and anti-caste in spirit. It preached pure individualism; it fought for the inborn right of the individual as a potentiality; it discarded the principle of social immobility, inequality and

injustice; it upheld the sanctity of the human intellect and its freedom; it stood for man and woman in order to achieve his or her own salvation as human beings; it questioned the existence of the power of the gods as well as the power of the god of the earth—the priest; it ushered a new spirit of revolt in the minds of the people with a view to revaluating the aim of life; it placed a new ideal before men and women. The ultimate aim of the new movement was not materialistic, but spiritual, not the socialization, but the spiritualization of life. To the leaders of new thought freedom of man and woman did not connote freedom in social life, but freedom as a principle—the spiritualization of life. They confronted the laws of society in order to break them so that the individual could be freed, but they did not solve the problems of society. It was not owing to their lack of resolution and action that they failed in solving the social problem. It was a question of the standpoint in life. They were engrossed with a higher problem of life. The aim of life was their only problem. They tackled the fundamental and not the superficial aspects of life. Hence their philosophy exhibited anti-social and anarchic tendencies. The basic idea in their philosophy was the power of knowledge—all comprehensive knowledge—to be mastered for the conquest of life. As they started from the philosophy of pure individualism, all

their energies were solely directed towards the study of the whole man. They found in him a storehouse of latent potentialities. The man was not an automaton, but a power. It was really the education and the culturalization of his inner senses and forces that could entitle him to his complete manhood. In controlling and disciplining life—physical, mental, and spiritual—man could be enabled to evolve himself to the highest. But the disciplined life was a means to an end, a preparation for the achievement of an ultimate objective—the spiritualization of life. In the domain of religious philosophy the thinkers of India also came to know of the existence of God as the First Cause, the creator of the universe, the supreme power. He superseded the old gods and usurped their suzerainty. He was the absolute God. The stages from animism to pantheism marked the processes of evolution of the minds of the thinkers of India. In the philosophy of the 'forest-dwellers' the idea of Godhood was most predominant. It was the source of all inspiration and the quintessence of their philosophy. Man as a spiritual power was their central theme. They also expounded the theory of the human soul and its indestructibility. And it was in the transmigration of soul that they conceived the actualization of the never-ending life-force, taking form in human lives. The soul-theory was based on the cardinal principle of

Godhood. The soul was a refraction of God in human body. It was in fact an integral part of God. It was from God, in God, and of God. So the 'forest-dwellers' stressed the point to its logical conclusion that the soul must ultimately merge in God. 'Thou art That' was their aim and ideal of life. In other words, they brought out in bold relief the idea of Godhood in man, whose absorption in God—the absolute, the ultimate, the real, and the all-pervading power—was essential for his spiritual salvation and eternal bliss. The whole trend in the philosophy of the 'forest-dwellers' was transcendental. The problems of soul and God were discussed in order to spiritualize the existence of man. The power of knowledge held the key to the solution of the ultimate purpose of life. As opposed to the doctrine of priestcraft they raised the status of man to Godhood. It was a forward movement towards the development of the whole man. In the scheme of priestcraft man was a plaything in the hands of the priest and had to succumb to his orders, injunctions, and laws as a helpless creature and a forlorn soul. Things were superimposed on him. In his evolution it was not the man who controlled and guided his actions and movements but some other extraneous power or will behind him. He was predestined to react to the dictates of priestcraft. He was no factor in his own self-culture. The whole

priestcraft philosophy centred on the de-culturalization of man, if viewed from the man standpoint. The new movement emancipated the man. He came to himself, he could sense, feel, touch, and see as a man and act on his own initiative; he became the real man, who possessed powers—physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual—to develop them with a view to raising himself to the highest pitch of perfection. He was indeed a power which knowledge could only bestow on him. Ignorance and domination made him a slave of others, but knowledge and freedom could make him free and alive. Rise or fall was of his own making, but real knowledge only could save him from slavery and perdition. That the new movement was broadbased cannot be questioned. But as its driving impulse was conditioned by the idealization of life, it could not take root in the soil and become the life-philosophy of the 'common herd'. The way to the mastery of life-force was a long drawn-out philosophy which could not appeal to the mass mind. It undoubtedly created a feeling of hopefulness and brightness of outlook in the people. But its abstract and abstruse philosophy was simply awe-inspiring and staggering and left them cold as it did not care to take an appreciative view of the layman's problems of life and to make his earthly existence a success. The problem of worldly life was beyond its pale. It

was not the fulfilment and enrichment of life, but the negation of life that was preached by the new philosophic school. Its ideal was the culture of the soul—the real unfolding of the powers of the spirit. Hence its contribution to the social life and its manifold problems was more of a negative character. It judged human progress in terms of spiritual advancement of man. Life was not an end but a means and an idea for spiritualization. The thinkers of the new movement were pure intellectualist-philosophers and conceived life as a philosophy of power and knowledge. They did not solve the problems of the everyday existence of man, nor was it their concern to give a bright hue to earthly existence. Their philosophy gave rise to the thought-currents of different intensification and nature. These served the purpose of fertilizers in the domain of thought and of incentives in social dynamics.

Ancient India was in the grip of a great upheaval caused by movements—religious, anti-religious, ethical, non-ethical, transcendental and materialistic. These were shaping the mentality of the people. It has been aptly remarked by Rhys Davids that 'in no other age and country do we find so universally diffused among all classes of people so earnest a spirit of enquiry, so impartial and deep a respect for all who posed as teachers, however contradictory their doctrines

might be'. Such a wide range of intellectual vision and the absolute freedom of thought characterized the age. All sorts of speculations tended to the diversification of thought-processes and the free expression of ideas, which ultimately resulted in the formation of variegated life-concepts and forms. It is not possible for us at this present moment to discuss these movements individually. Only the popular movements—Jainism and Buddhism—will deserve our attention as these had influenced the people most. Before the rise of Jainism and Buddhism India was in a state of intellectual awakening. Nearly sixty-two schools of thought were active in propounding their philosophies of life in their own individualistic ways. Out of the social setting and 'a maze of interacting ideas' evolved Jainism and Buddhism. Both these movements were of ethical and heretic nature. They aimed at the moral uplift of man. They disregarded the principle of classification in society and tackled the problem of the spiritual or moral man. But their philosophy was the outcome of human misery, distress, decay, and death. To free man from the bondage of the 'wheel of life' was their refrain. Jainism was a movement for the unconditional emancipation of the soul. The theory of the soul-force in Jainism was its cardinal principle. It postulated the omnipresent existence of the soul (*jiva*) in the animate as well as inanimate world,

which depicted the different stages of its evolution. In man it was in a conscious stage, but still in bondage. Jainism strove for liberation of the soul (*jiva*) by stopping human karma (action), because karma is the root cause of bondage of the soul. Freedom of the soul was deprived by karma. Jainism adopted ways and means to hinder the progress of the karmic evolution of man and ultimately laid stress on the complete annihilation of the cumulative effect of karma on man. Self-inflicted suffering and self-imposed penance as the most effectively purifying and purging measures would burn all karmic impurities in the soul. To assist in the freedom of the soul life had to be moulded on the principle of *Ahimsa* (non-killing and non-injury) and guided by the non-possessive attitude of mind. Jainism was against the life-force, but it created moral qualities—will-power, discipline, and control of senses and action—in man. It preached the superiority of the moral force and the power of sheer will; it brought to daylight that man was not a tool in the hands of destiny nor was he under the dictation of supernatural power, but he was his own maker and creator. He was a power, though it was utilized by Jainism for the destruction of life. Jainism was a philosophy of rank negation of life. It had chiefly to do with the soul and its problems, but the problem of worldly life was ignored. The

ultimate reality—the emancipation of the soul from the karmic effects—was the essence of Jainism. It denied the existence of God.

Buddhism was in no way a lesser movement than Jainism. But its approach to the question of the moral and intellectual aspect of man was not only unique, but also different from all the religious systems of the world. Though the Buddhist point of view was the logical outcome of all discussions of the soul theory, yet it took a negative position. The Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, held that all the previous religious and philosophical systems took refuge in the soul and without it they, one and all, would fall to the ground. In order to build the 'New Palace of Good Sense' the rubbish—the theories of soul and God—had to be cleared away from the site. Fears and doubts harboured by men about their 'souls', which tormented and harassed men throughout their lives, could never create in them an emancipated state of mind that would assist them in achieving the higher ideal of life. So long as men were hampered by sham realities and all their virtues tarnished by an illusory craving for an eternal future life in Heaven, it was impossible to awaken them to the ardent, and earnest, and hopeful struggle after a peaceful perfect life here and now, in this world. Buddhism contends that the real progress in the ethical conduct of life only begins when men are free from delu-

sions of soul and God and have fully and finally discarded such false notions. The starting point of Buddhism is that everything has a cause in contradistinction to the established religious theories explaining the origin and end of all things. The 'Wheel of Life' or 'Chain of Causation' is the basic philosophy of the Buddha. The 'Wheel of Life' illustrates that 'there is nothing, either divine or human, either animal, vegetable, or material, which is permanent. There is no being—there is only a becoming. And this is true of the mightiest God of gods, as much as of the tiniest material atom. The state of an individual, of a thing, or person, distinct from its surroundings, is unstable, temporary, and sure to pass away. But as soon as there is a beginning, there begins also, that moment, to be an ending'. As the force of the inescapable law of causation works without compassion and mercy, man is also destined to come under its rigours. The moment human life neglects, ignores, and tries to escape it, the origin of sorrow begins. Hence the origin of sorrow, according to the Buddhist philosophy, is identical with the origin of individuality. It originates in the attempt to separate the individual from the rest of existence. The universal law of composition and decay has no preference for men and gods. It is an immutable law for one and all. 'Wherever an individual has become separate from

the rest of existence, there immediately disease, decay, and death begin to act upon it. Wherever there is individuality there must be limitation, wherever there is limitation there must be ignorance, wherever there is ignorance there must be error, wherever there is error there must sorrow come'. Life—present, past, and future—is the real identity of cause and effect and there is no separateness of life but a continuity, a blending, and a becoming. 'The sense of oneness with all that now is, that has ever been, that can ever be' is the Buddhist philosophy of life. This sense of intellectual equation enlarges the horizon of man to the limits of the universe, to the boundaries of time and space and lifts him up to a new plane far beyond, outside, all mean and miserable care for self. The fool's paradise of 'This is I' and 'This is Mine' does not solve, but complicates the problem of life from the Buddhist standpoint. The Buddha thrashed threadbare the fallacy of life as such and urged for the formulation of a new intellectual vision and a broadbased outlook. It was the thorough understanding of the fundamental law of cause and effect prevailing in the world and effecting the changeability of life that the Buddha tried his utmost to expound and preach. Nirvana—the Buddhist goal—was the outcome of the intellectual way of looking at life. It was an attitude of mind based on the law of life, an analytical perception, a life-realization, and an

emancipation of the whole man. It also signified the End of Craving, the State of Purity, and the Going-out. We have so far seen that the Buddha preached the impermanence of every individual, the sorrow inherent in the individuality, and the non-reality of any abiding Principle. He had discussed the ultimate problem of life for the living and the ideal of the perfect life to be achieved by men and women in their worldly existence. The perfected Buddha as the living human personality was the ideal of man and woman. It was not something unhuman and superhuman that he preached and symbolized in his own personality. It was not the mystery of the supernatural world that he disclosed. But it was the plain naked truth about man and his feigned values in life that he advocated. He attempted in plain and simple language to bring home to the plain and simple people of his times the importance of the transvaluation of values in life. He spoke in the plain language of the people, because he believed that mental readjustment and resetting was essential for the achievement of perfect life. He visualized potentialities in the living man for his moral and intellectual development. He also fought for man and against the tyranny of the social and religious laws weighing heavily on the breast of man. He was in fact the living spirit of revolt against the dwarfing of manhood. It was he who

did not dictate to man to follow him blindly and slavishly, but to be his own guide and lamp to light his own way. It was not the idea of man-domination over man, but of service to humanity that egged him on to preach his life-philosophy. With a view to raising the whole man the Buddha preached the 'Noble Eightfold Path'. It embodies practical hints to the culturalization of life. It has none of abstruse principles of philosophy. Though the ideal before man is the attainment of Nirvana, yet the long existence of man on this earth is a training ground for the evolution of a higher type of manhood. The battle-field is the world and he has to fight his own battle for his own good. To become perfect in this life he has to equip himself with right views, right aspirations, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindedness, and right rapture.

All these diverse philosophic, religious and socio-ethical movements were powerful thought-currents that shaped the life of society. In other words, these cross-and-under currents formed the variegated web of Indian life in its multi-coloured aspects. Ancient India thus witnessed the growth and development of parallel movements—conservative and reactionary, progressive, and dynamic. The 'prophets' of these movements were no doubt domineering personalities and had exerted preponderous influence on men and women of their

times. They were powerful agents who had broadened the outlook of man and helped in the creation of health-promoting conditions and surroundings. As pathfinders they showed different ways to the salvation of life. They were the creators, not the builders, the inventors, not the designers. They represented the spirit, not the form. They were in fact the feelers of the nation. Their main work consisted in the propagation of thoughts and ideas, not in the formulation of systems of religions nor in the codification of laws. But after their death the social evolution in Ancient India was marked by attempts at organization of societies, systematization of thoughts and codification of laws. During the life-time of the 'prophets' their movements had positively contributed to the solution of the problem of life, and in the world of thought they were the pioneers and leaders. Their disciples after their death were most eager and anxious to preserve the memories of their 'masters'. And it was the result of their efforts that new religious organizations were formed with a view to preaching the fundamental teachings of the 'prophets'. Though the liberalizing as well as humanizing force in the movements was considerably checked by organizing activity and control, yet these movements progressed in organized forms as social dynamics. The progress of 'organized' religions was due to propagandic and

organizing activity. The formation of distinct religious group-centres was the direct result of such organizing activities in the social world of Ancient India. The 'prophets' of India aimed at complete individualization and their intellectual or spiritual or moral message was to free man from the shackles of life. It was not their idea of 'socialization' in the form of life-regulation to be achieved by organization principle. They never thought in terms of a collective life or the salvation of life on a collective basis. Their philosophy touched the fundamentals in the broadest outlines and was anti-social. It never attempted to reform or spiritualize the society as a whole; but through spiritual or intellectual or moral freedom man could attain his own end. The ideal before them was the man, not the society. They approached him directly and neglected the society as a living organism of human conflicts and reactions. So the principle of organization was against the fundamental teachings of the master-philosophers. As the personality-element and the authority of the 'prophets' after their death were missing, the disciples systematized their teachings, and codified their laws, lest the people might forget the precious teachings. Under the scheme of religious organization and codification a new sense of collective life, spirit, and solidarity came into existence in the religious groupings of India. But the ideal of

individual welfare was not a neglected item in the scheme organization. These religious organizations had twofold purposes: propaganda with a view to conversion and preservation of the religious laws. With the strides of time these not only became an embodiment of law, but its rightful interpreters also. The 'masters' were superseded by organizations. The authority changed hands, and it rested with organizations to formulate new laws. The abode of solace was the organizations. As the 'prophets' preached among the living human elements, their towering personalities as live forces worked miracles in changing the human heart. But these organizations lacked human element. Their esoteric and philosophic ways were organization-ridden. Ultimately they became more and more self-centred and were cut adrift from the powerful currents of the lives of the people. The disciples through their organizations were in no way less neglectful of the propagandic importance of their faith than their 'masters'. Their over-zealousness in the conversion of the people to their fold was pronounced. Their behaviour showed that they were more catholic than the 'Pope'. The pristine teachings of the 'masters' were the sincerest and warmest expressions of their unalloyed, untarnished, and uncompromising personalities. Their sermons to men and women were the exposition of the eternal

truths for all times. They tackled the fundamental problem of life for all ages, because they believed that the law of life would remain unchanged despite conditions and influences. They wanted to solve the problem of life and showed ways to its solution. They had no short-cuts to salvation of life. If it could attain salvation, it should tread the paths of the 'prophets'. So for the solution of the ultimate problem of life there were no concessions, no preferences, no exceptions, no 'free-tickets'. Man has to solve his own problem in the same way as the 'prophets' solved their own. Such was the ideas of the 'masters'. The organized religious groups as living entities no doubt kept the banners of the 'prophets' aloft, but these did not succeed in re-livening the true philosophy of the 'prophets' and had to face difficult problems of their own making. The monastic order—the inner circle of the proselytizing organizations—was only for those who strove after the attainment of perfect life. It included men and women from all classes of people without racial and social discrimination. But it could only hold those who had already renounced the worldly life. Though the people in hundreds and thousands joined the monastic order of their own free will, the overwhelming majority of the worldly people who could not renounce life, but who were attracted by their religious ideals, found no place

or niche in the monastic order. So the real and acute problem before the proselytizing organizations was to accommodate the layman, whose heart craved for spiritual food, but whose physical existence was too true to the salt of the earth. These could not ignore the appeal of the layman, and leave him untutored in their doctrines. An admission of the layman into the organizations was at last sanctioned. In the history of these proselytizing organizations the layman was the beginning of a new departure from the ways of the 'prophets'. His presence necessitated a compromise and a half-way meeting ground. The laws and doctrines of the 'prophets' were amended and reinterpreted in the interest of the layman. The pure religion had to descend to the lower plane of the layman in order to conquer him. Sublime sermons of the 'prophets' were too sublime and subtle—unintelligible and incomprehensible for the layman—and could not penetrate the worldly heart and soul of the common man as he was a true specimen of the clay. So the layman's entry into the monastic order as a worldly factor set reactions and conflicting ideas which disturbed, corrupted and positively degenerated the organizations. It is true that the layman profited morally or spiritually by his admission into the orders, but he was mainly responsible for their subversion. His presence also was an indirect

cause for the introduction of ritualistic forms of religion, because he brought with him ritualistic beliefs and concepts. The more these organizations cared for the uplift of the 'common herd', the more they sank into the quagmire of non-essentials. The move towards popular appeal and capture of popular mind effected radical changes in the outlook of the promoters of different religions. Devotionalism as a religious philosophy was introduced in different forms in different religions in order to provide an outlet for emotional outburst of a common man. In its wake the philosophy of the re-incarnation of the 'prophets' also sprouted up as a medium of devotionalism. The rise of the 'common herd' signalized the proclamation of the death of the moral, or spiritual or intellectual man in human personality. The 'prophets' stood for him, but the 'common herd' strangled him. Their message of the real emancipation of man as a human personality was a past dream. That man was a master of his fate as propounded by the prophets, was a philosophy beyond the comprehension of the herd mind. The common man still believed in the powers of gods and superhuman and supernatural beings. Through their benediction and grace only he could rise and attain his salvation not in his present life, but in ages to come. Hence we see on the social horizon the emergence of the

gods, avatars, prophets, bodhisattvas, superhuman beings, and deities.

We have just now shown the different phases of those movements whose ideal as preached by their 'prophets' was the emancipation of man. These heretic movements, Jainism and Buddhism, no doubt spread light, knowledge, and culture and retained for centuries their domination on the minds of the people of India. It was mainly owing to the untiring and selfless endeavours of the preachers and promoters of these movements that India became a world-centre of culture and civilization. In the field of organization and systematization they were the greatest workers. Their monastic orders turned out the greatest educationists, philosophers, *littérateurs*, artists, and missionaries, whose contribution to the world of thought and the civilizations of countries was unrivalled and who were a living example of human determination, self-sacrifice, and faith. They scaled the insurmountable barriers of time and space in the ardent wish for the realization of their ideal. As indefatigable workers in the cause of human welfare and progress they changed the indigenous civilizations of the East. But they could not succeed in retaining the pristine grandeur of the teachings of their 'prophets'. During centuries of existence these heretic movements changed beyond recognition. The ultimate ideal of man succumbed to

new requirement of ages. New interpretation of the old religions was the ever-crying need of the times. The elements of culturalization of man in the teachings of the 'prophets' were utilized by the promoters as a social philosophy at the cost of life-emanicipation which ideal was negative and ethereal. It did not appeal to all, but only to the few. So the life-philosophy of the 'prophets' was rejected and discarded, but the cultural amalgam imbedded in their philosophy of life was accepted as a force for humanization of the masses. The man in the 'prophets' lived through the ages, but the mystic-philosopher in them died an unnatural death as he preached anti-life and anti-social philosophy. We shall be failing in our attempt at the depiction of some aspects of cultural evolution in Ancient India, if we do not describe, though in rapid survey, the priestcraft influences which were working in the formation of a religious and social order on the basis of a priestcraft civilization. The anti-priestcraft movement, which we have already described, was a danger-signal for a readjustment and reorientation of the priestcraft mentality and philosophy. It was no doubt a forward movement. But it could and did not take root in the soil. Its sublime philosophy became the privilege of the sublime souls. It was a negative force and thus left the people cold and unaffected. It failed as a mass movement.

So priestcraft which was the target of attack and object of ridicule, survived the shock because its existence was co-eval with the existence of the people. But the priestcraft movement in Ancient India was not dead it had not even gone underground. It was marking time. Though it is a fact that it had to face new social and religious problems because of the inauguration of anti-priestcraft movements, which exposed the theory of priestcraft to the public and created upheavals in society by introducing new elements of social and individual reform in order to undermine the foundations of priestcraft. But the sustaining power in the priestcraft movement was not priestcraft itself, but the mental, moral, and social conditions of the overwhelming majority of the people. Priestcraft not only knew the limitations of the people, but also of the movements that proclaimed the ideal of man. It was aware of the fact that the basic idea in those movements would never catch fire in the minds of the masses. That the humanizing force inherent in them was a powerful stimuli in effecting changes cannot be denied. But priestcraft was none the less indifferent to their onslaughts. In counter-effecting adverse influences it did not take a lenient view of the situation. It launched a systematic scheme of social governance as a sharp drive against the liberal and progressive points of view in life. With a

view to combating evil forces it did not negate its own philosophy, but it tried to readjust and reset ideas to changed conditions which were undoubtedly the result of anti-priestcraft movements. This gives us a clue to the liveliness and awareness of the upholders of priestcraft. In order to strengthen their hold on the masses they also gave a new interpretation to their old philosophy and illegalized certain forms of usages and customs which had been found wanting in moral justification. But their chief strength and power lay in the framing of social laws, though these were based on the divine sanctity of caste. In the range of law-making man and society were not neglected. The main purpose of the Dharmic laws was to cement the foundations of society on the cultivation of natural relationship between man and society. They did not postulate or preach the negation of life, but its retention. They created a strong sense of specific duties—ethical, social, and religious—in the graded forms of society. It was not in the dissolution of caste-society, but in its formulation and maintenance that man, as an individual, as a social animal, as a religious personality could prosper, thrive, and seek his salvation by stages. It was the disciplined and law-abiding sense which would help the members of a graded society to live harmoniously and be at peace with their group life. The basic idea in the priestcraft movement

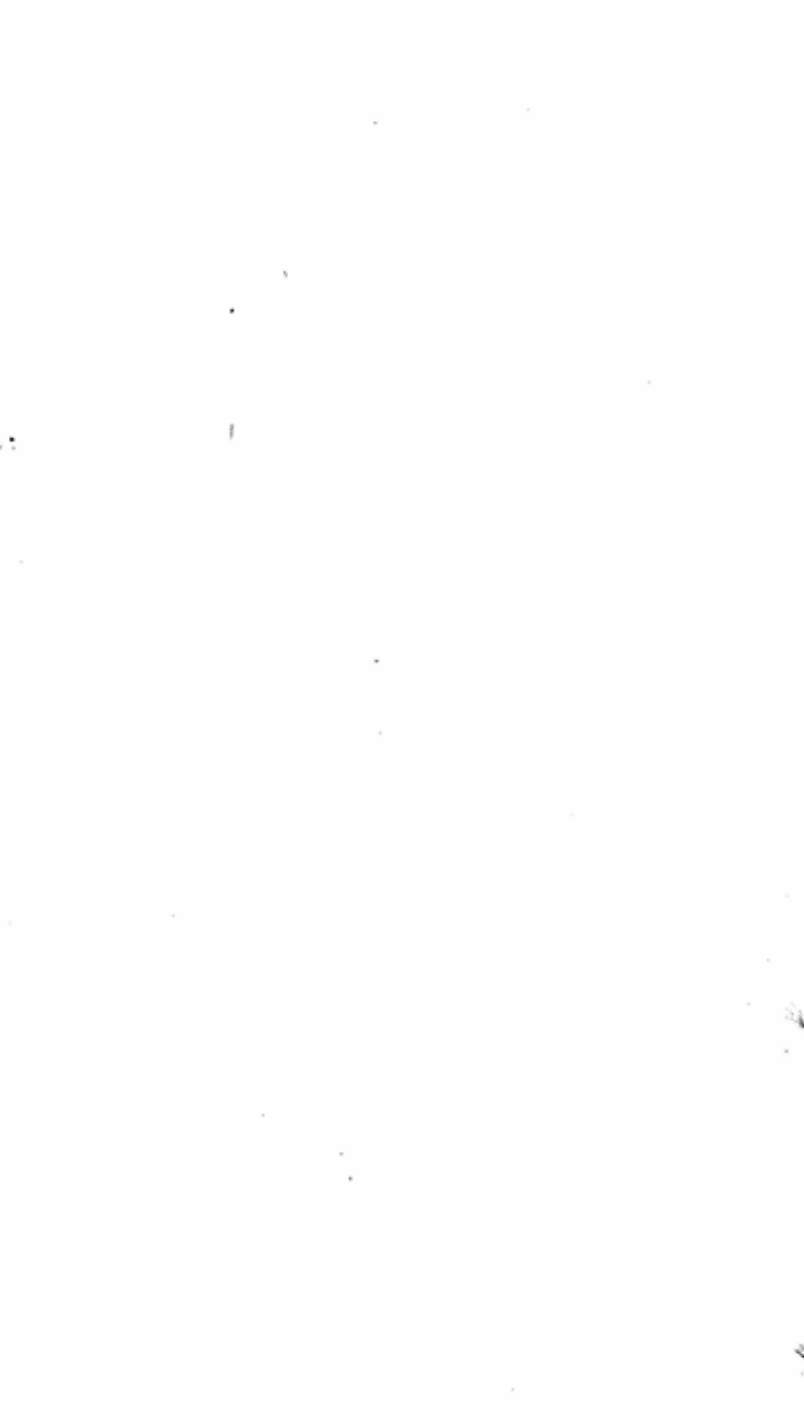
germinated in the group-life and group-domination. Through the evolution of the group, the evolution of man was determined. The Dharmic law, which was the product of priestcraft, was liberal in the sense that it always recognized the groups as legal entities. Under an all-supervising authority of the Dharma these groups were allowed freedom to live their own lives. The only condition that permitted them to evolve the specific peculiarities of their group life was that the absolute suzerainty of priestcraft had to be recognized. In other words, the Dharma as conceived by priestcraft had to rule over the masses. Under the scheme of priestcraft the evolution of the Indo-Aryan society was not conditioned by one set of laws, but different sets of laws. This tendency towards diversification was not the making of priestcraft, but it was inherent in the constitutive formation of the Indo-Aryan society. This was due to the rightful recognition of different racial elements or to the indestructibility of diverse racial factors which forced the hands of priestcraft to acknowledge their claim to social recognition. Under the priestcraft regulation and organization groups had formed. And their culture—customs, usages, cults, practices and religious concepts—was openly recognized or in a surreptitious manner it threaded its way into the social fabric. Priestcraft was the guiding spirit in the selection

or rejection of religious concepts and practices. But its sphere of control and domination was also restricted. It could not ride roughshod over the religious susceptibilities and religious conventions of the group-personalities. The acceptance of different religious institutions was the only rightful course in order to avoid clash of institutional powers. But priestcraft gave them its own stamp and colour. Here lay the genius of the upholders of priestcraft. The birth of different religions and popular cults was conditioned more by the inner urges of the group entities within the frame-work of priestcraft than the Dharmic law of priestcraft. That is the reason why priestcraft failed to invent a uniform code and an uniform system of religious sanctions and taboos and to disregard the existence of different religious concepts and practices. Different religious manifestations within the fold of priestcraft were due to the presence of the cultural forces of the individual groups. The chief work of priestcraft was to synthesize these forces into a system of social welfare and control. And, moreover, its biggest contribution to the formation of a priestcraft civilization was that it prepared an intellectual and moral background for the justification of its laws and philosophies. It took a most thorough stock-taking of all the phases of social life with a view to infusing new spirit into the old and dry bones. The

whole range of literature—socio-philosophic, legal, ethical, religio-historic—was overhauled in order to make life 'up-to-date'. In its attempt at 'rejuvenation' synthetical forces of the Indo-Aryan society were focussed to a Dharmic point—indicative of a priestcraft civilization. In the process of social evolution a hotchpotch society came into existence. From the sublimest to the most banal forms of worship became the glaring features of the Indo-Aryan society. Priestcraft triumphed in the end and retained its hegemony, but the society thus formed was not homogeneous. Though it tried through the ages to retain its equipoise, its base was unstable. Its constituent parts were made to coalesce, but the adhesive force was lacking in it. It failed to form into a living progressive society. It eliminated possibilities of discord and friction. It was based on the selective and segregative principle of group formations. Process of assimilative integration as a cementing force was absent in the whole scheme of priestcraft. As other movements received impetus and aid from political forces, so priestcraft also sought help from political sources. Its early resuscitation was chiefly due to political factors that helped it in counteracting, counterplotting, and reasserting. In the game of politics the master-minds of priestcraft took advantage of the rising tide of political forces and legalized the claims of political parties by their

religious and moral sanctions. They also invented the theory of the divine right of kingship with a view to advancing their religious cause. Behind the political laws the law of priestcraft was there to control and keep vigil on the evolution of kingship. In the rise of dynasties the power of priestcraft played a formidable factor. Thus the priestcraft force was a determining factor in shaping society in Ancient India. Its laws prevailed in spite of protestations and revolts. India of the ancient times fell an easy prey to the priest, who ruled her automatically. Even in the India of today which is struggling for freedom of her soul the priest-phantom is still holding the key-position. The dictatorship of the priest in spirit is hovering over her. He is still the ruler of her mind. How to free India from the paralytic efforts of the priestcraft civilisation is a problem which needs immediate solution.

**THE INDO-MUSLIM KINGSHIP AS A
CULTURAL FORCE**



II

The Indo-Muslim kingship as a cultural force will reveal to us our political achievement in the past as well as the significance of the cultural forces inherent in the political evolution of our country. The culture of medieval India not only presents enormous material for a fascinating study, but is also an open book full of revelations. If we study medieval India and her problems scientifically, we are sure to come to the conclusion that we—Hindus and Muslims—have contributed our full quota to the evolution of a common cultural heritage. It throve on an eclectic conception of life. Our social existence was determined by cultural factors of that age. What we are today in our mental and emotional and socio-psychic life, we owe it to a great degree to our medieval past. We are in fact a worn-out replica of the medieval mind and spirit though modern forces are attacking us on all fronts and compelling us to discard medieval ways and medieval life-values. We are resisting these instinctively. Our social life and instinct could not adjust itself to different forces of modern times. That is the reason why we are experiencing clashes

and conflicts in our present-day society. We may also remark that modern culture and civilization only could become part and parcel of our lives, if we were to modernize ourselves. This means that the expected change in our society will be conditioned by the laws of social evolution. Our culture has got to be revived and aligned with modern thought and ways. The modern tendency in India aiming at sheer superimposition of a foreign culture and civilization on the people is bound to create disorder, dislocation, and disruption. It has so far helped us not in the retention and perpetuation of our common culture, but in its destruction and decay. If it were to assist in the progression of life, it must be naturalized under Indian factors and conditions and become our life-blood. We all know that it is the genius of our country to absorb into her social system foreign cultural forces and elements after synthesizing them. In pure mimicry and the aping of western culture she will lose her soul. In synthesizing she will live and make her life radiant and resourceful. We are still medieval, though slightly and superficially modernized and our cultural values and patterns belong to the eclectic medieval age. Our present-day negation of an achievement of a common culture, due to the storm and stress of modern factors, is a positive proof of our national degeneration. Hindus and Muslims were,

are and will always remain potent factors in the shaping of Indian civilization. The communal question of the India of today is the result of a wrong perspective of the Indo-Muslim life and of the neologic interpretation of the modern tendency towards the formation of segregated cultures. It aims at segregation, separation, and severance. The soul of the India of today is being wrenched from its body. Progression of her life depends on the fusion and commingling of cultures. She will die because of separatist tendencies and factors, as these will poison her whole system. Though we are living in a modern world—full of change and expectation—we have not been able to adjust our social structure and social mind to new requirements of the present age. The reason is that we have been compelled to adopt new ways, new outlook, and new ideals without our inclination to change inwardly. We have drifted into modernity but cut away from our old cultural moorings. Our connections with the 'living past' have been severed. The present-day cultural tangle is not the result of our past cultural evolution, but is due to the breaking off of the link with our past culture. The source of our culture had been sapped by our involuntary severance. We have survived, but we have not thriven since we have been deprived of our cultural 'food'. It is the lack of a common cultural inspiration and source that has been responsible for our cultural

decay. The artificial feeding of exotic culture has shown in us no improvement. Our normal condition has changed into abnormality and morbidity. The stigma of an inferiority complex is on our foreheads. In order to effect normality in life we have to renew our old connections with the medieval past. Life must flow from the medieval source and infuse into our blood a new spirit of recrudescence and revival. We do not mean to insinuate that we should refuse to modernize ourselves. But what we mean to say is that the spirit of the medieval past should be our guide, because it had given ample proof of adjustability and changeability to ever-changing life-conditions. It had also shown us the way cultural forces could be synthesized and evolved into a new civilization. Medieval India was not a dead India. But she was full of life. She should serve us as a living model of the Indo-Muslim India. It was not a perfect India, but it was the India which had accommodated standpoints and principles of life and had worked out a feasible plan of social progress. The spirit of medieval India had the germs of a nationalistic India. Though modern India tries to be nationalistic, she is far from it, because common cultural factors play no important part in her making. To my mind modern India needs the guidance of the all-powerful spirit of the medie-

val past. Now we come to the main theme: 'Indo-Muslim kingship as a cultural force'. The problem of the Indo-Muslim kingship requires some explanation to begin with. The Indo-Muslim kingship was not only a political institution, but was also conditioned by human factors. We may also observe that we do not intend to repeat the old history lessons, beginning with a dynasty and ending with a dynasty. The 'date-and-fact' history is dry and dead history. The real history begins with the history of thought and its struggle. It at once conveys to us an idea that thought and its struggle are the expression of the struggle of man. And it is easy to understand the expression of man through history because we get to know the whole perspective of the real man. Our books on medieval Indian history do not help us in estimating the importance of the real contribution of human forces to the making of the history of our country. Our historians treat history as a dead subject. They have consciously or unconsciously eliminated human element from history. India has been scrutinized by them and has been found wanting in modern standards. Their criterion is artificial and mechanical. They have written 'soulless' histories. They ought to sense, feel, and see history as the medieval people sensed, felt, and saw. The people actually made history. To appreciate the historical evolution of medieval India one has to set medieval

standards and forms, because the medieval people solved their own problems according to their standards. It is this point of view that we must bear in mind while reading or writing history of the medieval times. Then our difficulties will be less and we will be doing no injustice to the time-spirit of the medieval age. We shall now try to read the significance of political forces that were generated in the medieval world of India. We shall also try to show how the changes were wrought in the minds of the Indo-Muslim rulers; how the adventurer's spirit changed into the conqueror's, how the conqueror in them metamorphosed into the conquered, how the sense of sheer domination transmuted itself into a new sense of goodwill and well-being; and ultimately how the idea of public weal possessed the rulers completely.

The political history of the Muslim domination is generally traced from the rise of the Ghaznavides. The fact is that the Ghaznavide political domination was a later phase in the Muslim domination of India. It followed in the wake of the Arab attempt at the political domination in India. The Arabs conquered Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia within twenty years of the death of the Prophet of Islam. The idea of the conquest of other countries in the East 'as a prelude' to political domination had spurred them. India offered a tempting bait for the actualization of their political dream.

The whole political scheme of the Arabs betrayed their settled purpose to obtain a footing in India. The first Arab attempt at the conquest of India was made during the caliphate of 'Umar (634-643 A.D.) when a military expedition was launched forth to pillage the coasts of India. It is stated that it reached as far as Tana in Bombay. But as Caliph 'Umar was averse to naval expeditions he forbade by peremptory orders 'to enter into a holy war with that country'. The scheme of the conquest of India by sea was dropped. During the caliphate of 'Usman the idea of conquest again cropped up. An emissary was despatched 'to explore the provinces of Hind'. It also proved abortive. The scheme failed because it was inadequately executed. In the year 650 A.D. the conquest of Sijistan was successfully undertaken. This was the real beginning of the political struggle which kept the Arabs engaged in achieving their political objective. Sijistan in those days belonged to the Shah of Kabul who was not a Muslim but a Buddhist Turk or rather one of the later Kushan kings. On the testimony of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim—Yuan Chwang—as well as the early Muslim writers—al-Masudi, Baladhuri, Ibn Haukal, and Alberuni—it is proved beyond doubt that the kingdoms of Kabul, Zabul, and Sindh were the western boundaries of India extending up to Makran and Khurasan and their culture was Indian throughout.

So culturally and politically these kingdoms belonged to India. The Arab conquest of Sijistan was a prelude to further Arab advance towards the western borderland of India. From 650-870 A.D. the Arab politics was bent on the conquest of the kingdom of Kabul. During these two centuries the Arabs had scored victories and sustained defeats as well. The Indian power resisted the Arab onslaughts. Even Kabul was subjugated by the Arabs. But it did not remain for long in subjugation and overthrew the Arab domination. The incessant struggle brought the major portion of the kingdom of Kabul under the Arabs. But the Arabs failed to conquer it completely. Up to the tenth century Kabul was ruled by its indigenous rulers. The politics of Kabul was moulded by political factors beyond the control of its rulers. The result was that the old Kushan Shahi dynasty was subverted by the Brahman Vazir—Kallar. This *coup d'état* brought into existence an independent Brahman dynasty—known in Indian history as Hindu-Sahi. The Hindu-Sahi became the new master of Kabul and ruled unmolested and undisturbed. The Samanids of Transoxiana gave the Hindu-Sahi a free hand and did not retard its progress, and were no menace to its political existence. During the decline of the Samanid dynasty the political power passed into the hands of its Turkish governors. They began to rule

in the name of the Samanid king. The political weakness of the Samanids was a direct cause for the rise of the Turks as a political power. Among the Turks, Alptigin raised the banner of revolt against the Samanid rule and established himself at Ghazna as an independent Ghaznavide sovereign. The rise of the Ghaznavide power was a danger-signal to the existence of the Hindu-Sahi, and ultimately sounded its death-knell. The aggressive policy of the Ghaznavides compelled the Hindu-Sahi to shift its political centre more and more towards the Punjab and forgo all claims to the kingdom of Kabul. The early Ghaznavide politics involved the Hindu-Sahi in a conflict. As the people of Ghazna were dissatisfied with Piritigin, the Ghaznavide ruler, the Hindu-Sahi was approached with a view to taking up arms against their king. The Hindu-Sahi fought for the people of Ghazna. The underlying motive which instigated the Sahi to join hands with the insurgents might have been to end the rival power. This was the first political clash between the Ghaznavide power and the Hindu-Sahi. But it was also the beginning of the end of the political power of the Hindu-Sahi. The encounter with the Ghaznavide power did not bring luck to the Sahi. It complicated matters all the more and intensified hostilities. The Ghaznavide political activities were directed towards the formation of political alliances with

the Afghan tribes in order to weaken the position of the Hindu-Sahi. In this connection we may be allowed to mention very briefly that these Afghan tribes before their alliance with the Ghaznavides, were the most formidable allies of the Hindu-Sahi and had protected and guarded the Indian frontier. And it was impossible for any power to invade India as the Afghans were the most faithful watchmen of the frontiers of India. The Sahi betrayed the Afghans and left them in the lurch when the Ghaznavides were molesting them. It was the greatest blunder committed by the Sahi to have neglected the cause of the Afghans. This hastened the end of the Sahi rule. The Afghans were not in a position to bear the brunt of the Ghaznavide political forces and were compelled to form an alliance with the Ghaznavide power in order to save themselves from perdition. For the Ghaznavides it was a real victory, because the blockade at the frontier of India was removed and they could without any hindrance pounce upon India. The frontier gateway was open to the Ghaznavides. In order to consolidate their position the Ghaznavides extended their political boundaries by capturing the fortresses on the confines of India. These also were the storehouses of wealth. At that time Sabuktigin was the Ghaznavide ruler and his Indian contemporary was Jaipal—the 'Badshah of Hind', who was a direct descendant of the Hindu-

Sahi. The increasing control of the Ghaznavide power on the frontier was a sign of alarm for Jaipal. He scented danger in the gradual aggrandisement on the part of the Ghaznavide ruler. The problem before the 'Badshah of Hind' was either to crush the rising tide of political forces beyond the frontier or to forgo for ever his undisputed claim to political supremacy. To Sabuktigin Jaipal was an eye-sore and the future of the Ghaznavide power depended upon his victory over the Raja. Political forces were at work in creating tension and estrangement. A political clash was bound to arise and it did culminate in encounters between Sabuktigin and Jaipal. Such were the political affairs when Sultan Mahmud, the son of Sabuktigin, appeared on the scene. Mahmud was the real maker of Ghazni. The Ghazni politics reached its highest water-mark during his reign. His first impact on India was a continuation of the Ghazni politics, as conditions of peace treaty were not fulfilled by Raja Jaipal. To effect recognition of political obligations and to enforce political lordship on the Raja were the prime motives that made him invade. Mahmud came to India many times in different capacities—as an avenger, a raider, a political ally, a looter. His invasions can be attributed to political, economic, and pseudo-religious factors. The wealth of India had played an important part in

determining the early political status of Ghazni. It had also whetted the political ambition of the Ghaznavides and goaded them on the way to the realization of their political objective. Mahmud knew its importance in the sphere of politics also, as he was a true child of the Ghaznavide political traditions. It cannot be denied that of all the Ghaznavide rulers he had the wealth-phobia in a most marked degree. The psychological effect of the acquisitive instinct and behaviour on the dictator in Mahmud was profound and deep and coloured his whole outlook. Possession of wealth enhanced his political status. The value of wealth as a political and cultural factor was not unknown to him. The real greatness and splendour of Ghazni was not so much due to the sword of Mahmud as to the wealth of India. For the glorification of Ghazni—the political ideal of Mahmud—it was utilized. Mahmud was a born warrior. And he had no scruples in looting India and other countries. The exploitation of countries—Muslim and non-Muslim—was no deterrent factor in the headway of his politics. He was a dictator of his times. The main-springs of his action were embedded deep in the forceful personality of Mahmud. His acts were a justification of conquest and loot in his own eyes. In him political power reached its highest point. For the Ghaznavides he was a 'national' hero. But

Mahmud could not win the hearts of the people of those countries which he raided as a 'conqueror'. His was a devastating force that the conquered felt and they came to grief. Mahmud symbolized in an accentuated form the creator as well as the destroyer in his personality. He had the conqueror's mind, but not the conqueror's soul. It was no passion with him to rule countries after conquering them. Political expansion was no objective before him. He was a dynamic political force but was devoid of a higher conception of state and politics. Nor was he a political thinker. The Ghaznavide state was his ideal and he fought for its glorification. In him were possibilities for the creation of an all-Asian state. But as his political vision was parochial he could not transform these possibilities into actualities. Mahmud was no politician. The world saw in him a great generalissimo. He was in fact a Ghaznavide Napoleon minus his vision and spirit. That Mahmud is described as the hero of Islam, is not a historical statement. We cannot possibly dilate on the point at this moment as it will sidetrack us. In this connection we may refer to the rise of the Muslim states in the Islamic world of the ninth and tenth centuries. The importance of the role of political factors in the creation of the Muslim states cannot be denied. The spirit of politics determined their existence more than the

power of religion. These political creations were the product of the interaction of political forces. Religious influence was utilized by them as a political instrument. Even their political structure was an adaptation of the pre-Islamic Persian ideal and form of government. These Muslim states were an expression of their national genius; these had the 'welfare' of their own countries at heart rather than the spread of Islam as a religion; these also did not even care to minimize acute differences and remove conflicts in the Islamic world, and more so these lived their own lives irrespective of the fate of Islam. Mahmud who was the real builder of the Ghaznavide state was the personified spirit of politics. And his whole political career was a negation of the spirit of Islam. He exploited the religious world in order to achieve his political aim. His religious persecution was a pretext for political exploitation. He was guided by political instinct and urge. His so-called religious wars were either political or economic wars. During his raids on India or elsewhere he did not burst into a fanatic propagandist or showed the zeal of a pious missionary of Islam. Nor did he rule to proselytize. Mahmud as a missionary of Islam never existed in actuality. Mahmud was not a real conqueror of India. The Ghaznavide government had a nominal control over the Punjab. After the death of the hero of Ghazni the Ghazna-

vide rulers were compelled to safeguard their political interests in the Punjab. But it was all a futile effort as their political aim was not the conquest of India and secondly the internal politics in Ghazni reacted adversely on the political happenings in India. So the Ghaznavide power actually failed to rule India. Their successors were the Ghoris whose attempt at the political conquest of India was in the way of establishing political domination. They laid the faint beginnings of a Muslim rule in India. But their political control and domination was a continuation of the Ghorian rule at Ghazni. The Ghoris ruled India from Ghazni. The Ghorian domination did not inaugurate a new Muslim rule in India. But the conquered territories of India formed an integral part of the Ghorian empire. The Ghorian politics thrived under laws of expediency and the secret of their success lay in the exploitation of political forces for their own end. They were past-masters in the game of politics. With the 'kingship' of Qutbuddin who was a successor of the Ghorian king, Muhammad Bin Sam, and the most loyal lieutenant of the Ghorian master, began a new era in the political history of Muslim rule in India. It was the life-work of Qutbuddin. He not only extended the sway of the Muslim rule in India, but was also instrumental in bringing about an abrupt change in the political status of India under the Ghorian

rule. The establishment of an independent Muslim rule, free from the political tutelage of the Ghoris, was the achievement of Qutbuddin. New political beginnings were made under him. The political centre shifted from Ghazni to India. The new Indo-Muslim 'kingship' was in the making. It was an infant kingship and had to pass the critical period of babyhood with all its perils. But the apparent success of the 'kingship' of Qutbuddin was due to the warrior and politician in his personality. The inherent forces in the institution of kingship were exposed to internal dangers. It was a new experiment of the Indo-Muslim kingship in the teeth of opposition. In the establishment of a Muslim power in India there were other political factors that decided the fate of kingship. It is true that Qutbuddin had manœuvred to attain kingship. But the Indo-Muslim kingship had to fight its own battle in order to rule undisputed. After Qutbuddin political storms raged and the fate of kingship hung in the balance. The fitness-to-rule *versus* kingship as a legal inheritance was the burning political problem. Politics was being influenced by the controlling power of the Turks who stood for the fitness-to-rule as a principle of statecraft. The new Indo-Muslim kingship had no precedents in India to follow, as it was a newly created institution of political control. It could not be risked or experimented upon in order

to strengthen it and to infuse into it life-promoting element. Political domination had to be retained. Only a strong kingship could do it. Political forces evolved it on the basis of the Turkish influences and elements. The result of the Turkish efforts was the establishment of the Iltutmishian kingship. It is a fact that it was conditioned more by the reaction of political forces and less by its own laws of development. It was also a legalized form of kingship in the eyes of the Muslims as it had the sanction of the Caliph at its back. This sanction silenced political opposition and resentment. The *imprimatur* to rule, to conquer, and to enforce political obedience had given strength to the Iltutmishian kingship. But the kingship had to contend with political forces in order to evolve its own laws and institutions. During the Iltutmishian kingship the Turkish element and spirit, owing to the preponderous influence of the Forty, was a pre-eminent factor in controlling movements and activities of kingship itself. The power of the Forty served the purpose of a fulcrum in the Iltutmishian kingship. They were its adhesive force. They were also instrumental in lessening its autocratic impulses and urges. Their political existence was a check on the ways of the Iltutmishian kingship and exerted deep influence in keeping it within bounds. The Forty were the ardent supporters of the Turkish kingship as it



signified to them the principle of fitness-to-rule. In Razyah Sultana as their queen they visualized the living principle of statecraft. Though it was a novel experiment to have a queen on the throne, yet their robust political instinct guided them in their political deliberations and they recognized the principle of queenship. She symbolized the principle of fitness-to-rule. The real power of the Forty was rather underestimated by the queen. She did not realize that they possessed the power to make and unmake queenship or kingship. Her utter disregard of the Forty hastened her catastrophic end. After her death the power of the Forty reached its culminating point. The kingship was at their mercy. It was a shuttle-cock in the hands of the Forty. They did not end the institution of kingship, though there were no capable rulers in the line of the Iltutmishian family. They empowered and swayed it. The kingship became only an emblem of political sovereignty, but was devoid of its inherent strength and power. It existed in name only. In the name of the king a ministerial power was ruling and wielding political influence. The whole political atmosphere was seething with expectations and uncertainties. The Indo-Muslim kingship was on its last legs. Its drift was towards the precipice. The Forty had sapped the vitality out of it and reduced it to a phantom. The full control of the oligarchic

group had threatened its existence. The game of politics was generating forces either towards the formation of an oligarchic form of government or towards the retention of a nominal kingship under the control of political bosses or towards a disruption of the state due to the inevitable conflict of different vested interests of the political powers. But chances for the formation of an oligarchic form of government were few and far between as the political bosses could not put up an united front against the disorders for the achievement of their common political objective. They lacked the spirit of a common purpose and the sense of a joint responsibility. It was beyond them to constitutionalize the institution of kingship. Their guiding spirit was the law of political expediency. Political conditions were uncertain. The need was felt for the emergence of a new virulent political force in the form of a dictator who could crush dissensions and disunity in the domain of politics and create a new kingship. The political rise of Balban as a specimen of new kingship was in the fitness of things. Balban was fully aware of the evil consequences resulting from the moribund kingship. He, therefore, fought for kingship in order to save it from peril and to infuse a fresh life into it. The political mentality of the all-in-all Forty was no secret to Balban, who visualized in their unchecked power a great menace to the

future existence of kingship. So long as the Forty wielded influence on political developments, kingship would remain deprived of its independent political existence. It served as a pawn in the game of politics. Party politics exploited it and its status became a farce. Balban realized the precariousness of political conditions and faced issues as a man. Not in ending kingship, but in its fullest development he saw a ray of hope. The kingship of Balban was an inauguration of a new order and a departure from the old ways. As it was the outcome of political chaos, it had to be aggressive and dynamic. It had to be destructive as well as constructive in its activities, as it set new political aim and ideal. Out of destruction the Balbanite kingship created and evolved the ideal of kingship. Balban made kingship real, forceful, and sustaining. The dictator in the Balbanite kingship was its source of inspiration and strength. The realist in the personality of Balban struggled with the idealist. The victory of the real man in the Balbanite kingship was its outstanding achievement. The kingship of Balban was not a passing phase in the political evolution of the Indo-Muslim kingship. Its contribution was positive and abiding. The Balbanite political school of thought was its legacy to the Indo-Muslim kingship. It introduced new political maxims and ideals for the guidance of kingship. Balban was in fact a

political thinker and a politician. He not only theorized kingship, but also laid down laws for its existence. The Balbanite kingship was not a manifestation of the law of the brute. Its background was coloured by its forceful ethics. It had its own political philosophy. Though the existence of a political authority signified to Balban domination and conquest, its underlying spirit was a culturalizing force. The kingship of Balban did not aspire to establish the rule of the sword, though the sword was brandished to counter-effect the disruptive political forces. Attempts at sublimation of the power of the sword were made for the control and guidance of the general life of the people. To Balban kingship was an emblem of responsibility, authority, greatness, and splendour, because the characteristics of the Divine rule were refracted in the symbol of sovereignty. The political authority was not only the shadow of God, but also its mind and heart. The establishment of peace and order, the dispensation of justice, and the protection of the people were the strongest pillars of the Balbanite kingship. It was the nearest approach to the Divine law. Barbaric kingship was no kingship of Balban as the Divine rule is not barbaric and unjust. Just kingship indirectly fulfilled the Divine purpose on the earth. The kingship of Balban was responsible to God, not to the people. The responsi-

bility to God did not absolve the Balbanite kingship from all obligations to the people, but superimposed restrictions and limitations on its movements and activities. Hence it became the protector and the well-wisher of the people. That kingship functioned well in order to bring about the welfare of the people, was the standpoint of Balban. The pivotal idea in the Balbanite kingship was the dispensation of justice to one and all irrespective of class and creed. It was its soul-sustaining force. The kingship of Balban was not erratic and purposeless, but it had a purpose, a value, an end, and an ideal. It also was a transmuted form of a culturalized kingship. The ideal of kingship was a living practice in the personality of Balban. Its cultural force worked through the process of infiltration of royal traits and characteristics into the general life of the people. Balban as a ruler was no believer in forming close contact with the people. The kingship had to conform to the rigid and inelastic laws of social aloofness, as its august existence did not depend on the will of the people, but of God. The Balbanite kingship was an austere and stern phase in the evolution of the Indo-Muslim kingship. Because Balban had rescued kingship as an institution of political control from tottering. It had to be rigid, severe, dreadful, and awe-infusing. It had to be drilled into a disciplined life in order to create dread

and fear in the heart of the people and to cement its foundation. The Balbanite kingship was a true expression of political conditions. Though political abnormalities led to abnormalities in the kingship of Balban, yet the Balbanite political principles were introduced into statecraft and politics with a view to maintaining social and political order.

The Indo-Muslim kingship passed through a period of transition after the death of Balban. Political principles and ideals were put on the anvil. Elements of dread and fear in kingship were discarded as an useless instrument of political control. These were instrumental in retarding its internal growth and in creating an 'unhealthy' political atmosphere. The kingship needed a humanizing adhesive to strengthen its base and a new approach to its ideal. During the reign of Kaiqubad—the successor of Balban—new social and political forces were set at work to bring about the transformation of kingship. The Balbanite order of things was changed and artificial political barriers were pulled down. The people who lived under the hypnotic spell of the Balbanite dread and fear were given breathing time to adjust themselves to the changed conditions of life. The Kaiqubadian kingship was humane, sympathetic, and ease-loving. To be cruel and oppressive was not its principle of life. Its ideal was not politics. It existed for the cul-

turalization in the lives of the people. The social contact between kingship and the people, which was conspicuously missing in the Balbanite kingship, was established. The Kaiqubadian kingship came near to the people. It showed signs of understanding the life of the people. It permitted them to live a life of gaiety and enjoyment in the same way as the Kaiqubadian kingship enjoyed life. It also elicited a thorough appreciation of the outburst of desires, impulses, and feelings in the lives of the people. Freedom was given them for self-expression and self-indulgence. They were looked upon as human beings. Their social status also improved. During the Kaiqubadian kingship the question of public weal was also taken up. It was emphasized that the prime duty of the ruler was to look after the material welfare and happiness of the people. The criterion of a prosperous reign was that the people should be well-fed and well-clothed. The ruler was held responsible for their dire need, distress, and suffering and he should come to their succour. If he failed in the discharge of his public duties, his office of kingship was not even worth the name. It is a historical fact that the people were prosperous, happy, and contented during the Kaiqubadian kingship. The reaction against the autocratic power of kingship also became evident. In order to liberalize the institution of kingship it was suggested that it should function on the basis

of a joint-responsibility. This was a weak tendency towards the formation of a constitutional kingship and a direct attempt at elimination of the irresponsible and erratic elements from kingship was made. It was also a critical period for determining the nature of influence and scope of religious factors in statecraft and politics. Since the inception of the Indo-Muslim kingship the religious influence through the 'Ulema began to assert itself in shaping the trend of events. But the acute problem before the kingship was how far the 'Ulema could be allowed to interfere with the laws of politics. The early Indo-Muslim kingship was between the devil and the deep sea, as it aspired to establish kingship on the laws of God, but political reality compelled it to observe political laws for its existence and survival. The laws of God were sacrificed for the laws of politics. The kingship was politicized from its birth. But the indirect influence of the 'Ulema was perceptible as they flocked to the courts of the kings. The 'Ulema, as the intellectual interpreters of Islamic law, were ardent in Islamizing the institution of kingship. But the Indo-Muslim kingship resisted the force of Islamization in politics as it was against the law of political expediency. India of those times was the least Islamic and could ill-afford the new political experiment. Even this fact was no unknown secret to the Muslim rulers. Their

first consideration was to rule India with a view to retaining their political domination. They were far removed from the ideal of Islamization. Political and social conditions compelled them to politicize their ideas and viewpoints. Nearly the whole administration of the country was in the hands of the people of India. The centralized political authority only directed and guided the policy and controlled and regulated the statecraft. The Muslim rulers were no doubt the masters of the country, but the real working of the government was entrusted to the 'conquered'. These rulers did not even follow the political traditions of the Prophet of Islam or the early Caliphs of Islam. The underlying spirit of the early Arab rule was no more a landmark for the practical guidance of the Indo-Muslim kingship. The nature of its rule differed radically from the early Islamic domination which upheld the Koranic ideal in politics. Political treaties were concluded during the Indo-Muslim rule between indigenous powers and central authority on the basis of non-Islamic sanctions. The spirit of political expediency was reflected in the conclusion of such treaties. Conditions of tribute and military service were imposed on the conquered according to the political traditions of the country. The political principles, as stressed by the early political traditions of Islam, did not see the light of day during the Indo-Muslim

kingship, though stray and sporadic attempts were made towards Islamization of politics and statecraft later. But these also proved abortive. The ideal of the Indo-Muslim kingship was not its practice. Its existence in India determined its outlook, behaviour, and aim. Its heart struggled to aspire to the Islamic political ideal, but political reality in India shattered all hopes of its realization. It was in touch with the political conditions of the times and knew its limitations. It was conscious of the fact that its survival depended upon its alignment with the political reality. It sensed danger in the ideal. It utilized all the political forces to cement its foundation. The Indo-Muslim kingship was the product of political realism and shunned to tread the path of political idealism. Political factors in India were instrumental in negating the religious force in the domain of politics. The secret of the success of the Indo-Muslim kingship was not so much in the power of its sword as in the actual utilization of political forces of the conquered for its own end and purpose. In its scheme of political aggrandisement the conquered people of India helped in the conquest of the country. In other words, India was conquered by her own people for the Indo-Muslim kingship. It is an undeniable fact in the medieval political history of our country that the Indian armies which were at the disposal of the Muslim

central authority, fought shoulder to shoulder with the Muslim armies against their foes—the people of their country. With the stride of times this feature became all the more conspicuous and led to the formation of political relations, based on a sense of common interest and common loyalty. It also indirectly exerted deep influence on the political make-up of kingship itself, and was responsible for its adaptation to Indian life and conditions. Indianization of kingship was also due to influences—cultural, social, religious and political—generated in India during the course of its existence. These influences were constructive and formative from their beginning. The Indo-Muslim kingship through the process of naturalization was pre-conditioned by Indian factors, not by Islamic influences and laws. This was the main reason why the Indo-Muslim kingship from its inception was guided by political considerations and was subject to political evolution. Such were the dynamic forces under which the Indo-Muslim kingship thrived, but the ‘Ulema as day-dreamers could not realize the intensity and permanency of such factors. They ignored the trend in political evolution of the Indo-Muslim kingship and strove to retard its growth as in its acclimatization they visualized a grave danger for the spread of Islamic law as essential to statecraft. Their presence was not a healthy sign for its natural development. They

were also ignorant of the actual political conditions prevalent in India and as interpreters of Islamic law they upheld the ideal. They represented a class of idealists whose knowledge was bookish and could be no guide in political realism. They had no practical experience of statecraft and its manifold and intricate problems. They were no doubt honoured and esteemed. But they did not know that to rule a country, especially India, did not presuppose the possession of Islamic legal precedents so much as robust political commonsense; they did not know the importance of political essentials that were required for the success of a rule. The Indo-Muslim kingship had successfully ruled because of its inherent capacity for adjustability to political conditions. The 'Ulema were unaware of the fact that the Indo-Muslim rule from its beginning did not much care to build up its base on Islamic law. They did not study the nature of the political problem of India. While the Indo-Muslim kingship strove to solve it, the 'Ulema failed miserably to decipher the laws of politics as they had no understanding of India and her problems. They even failed to show the way to the harmonization of cultures—Hindu and Muslim. They only loved to bolster up the ideal of Islam, but they were no active workers in the cause of the real progress of Islam as a humanizing force. They were the Brahmans of Islam who had

not only monopolized the interpretation of Islam, but were also ever keen to protect Islam from the public gaze. The people of India were beyond their pale, as they had hatred and detestation for Kafirs and Kafiristan. They also failed to interpret Islam as an adhesive power that could coalesce the people of India into a living brotherhood. As missionaries of Islam they were the poorest specimen of humanity. The real service to Islam was rendered by the Sufees who also loved and served the people of our country. They ruled over the hearts of the people by their service to the people. They also were the harbingers of the Indo-Muslim culture. Their contribution to Indian life was permanent. The difference between the standpoints of the 'Ulema and kingship accentuated and became wider and wider in course of time. The formation of an 'alliance' with the 'Ulema was considered not only dangerous but also detrimental to the interest of the Indo-Muslim kingship. The 'Ulema had to face insurmountable difficulties and were ultimately thrown overboard in the tussle for power. During the reign of the Kaiqubadian kingship the 'Ulema showed signs of degeneration. Their self-interest controlled their behaviour and attitude towards kingship. Their lofty ideal boiled down to the commonplace. While trying to mark time with kingship they let themselves drift along with the political current in order to keep themselves

afloat. They could not exert influence on kingship and Islamize it, but they came directly under powerful influences—social and political. They could not even resist, but succumbed to the virulency of the laws of politics. The Kaiqubadian kingship exploited the power of the 'Ulema. The history of the time shows that the influence of the idealist 'Ulema on politics and kingship was nominal because they refused to sell their high ideals for money, prosperity, and worldly fame. The 'weathercock' 'Ulema overshadowed and out-distanced the idealists who were in an infinitesimal minority.

The force of culturalization of the Kaiqubadian kingship was further vitalized by the inauguration of the Jalali regime, whose fountain-head was Sultan Jalaluddin Khilji. The kingship of Jalaluddin was a turning-point in the evolution of the Indo-Muslim kingship. It had its own set-up ideal to follow. The institution of kingship was weighed and found wanting. Jalaluddin sensed, and saw the brute in kingship which had destroyed its humanizing element. It needed the vitalizing element of moral force to humanize it. Its old political foundation lacked essentials for its stabilization. Jalaluddin realized too soon that it could only survive if it were reinforced by factors other than political. The real worth of a political kingship was below par. Even the Indo-Muslim

kingship could stand no comparison to the Islamic one. Jalaluddin as a king was no believer in kingship that symbolized the crude and callous political force. It suggested to him a living farce and show. Its outward appearance had fascination, attraction, and glamour, but its heart was rotten to the core. His slashing criticism on kingship was not only unique for that age, but it also revealed the shallowness of the institution of political control. The old Balbanite ideal and practice was still a corroding force in politics, though the Kaiqubadian kingship succeeded in checking its ferocity and aggression. It was left to Jalaluddin to reject completely the Balbanite conception of kingship. Jalaluddin was also deadly against the further perpetuation of the Balbanite ways of politics. The Balbanite political principles had destroyed its moral aspect and had adversely effected the soul of kingship. He was conscious of the evil in the 'soulless' kingship as it existed for its own selfish end. Enforcement of political domination by awe, dread, fear was the key-note of its policy. Its political philosophy was determined by rank authoritarianism. Political pre-eminence and propaganda was its watchword. The idea of conquest, not of rule, was a goad that impelled it to politicize its structural make-up. Political factors that shaped kingship of those times found no response nor active support in the Jalali kingship. These were

purposely discarded by Jalaluddin as they were instrumental in driving terror in the people. Kingship as a symbol of the naked sword was abhorrent to him. To Jalaluddin it was a moral force to be utilized for the welfare of the people. He infused a new spirit into the Jalali kingship. The spirit of ethics transformed it into a new humanized kingship. The powerful personality of Jalaluddin generated new forces in the domain of politics and kingship. In the place of the brute force human forces—sympathy, kindness, and mercy—as the basic principles of politics, were given free play to assert their influence on the shaping of things and circumstances. His faith in the inherent power of human forces was unshakeable and deep-seated. And he utilized these for culturalization of kingship and the welfare of the people. The underlying idea in the manipulation of human forces in politics and statecraft was to preserve and conserve life, as the laws of politics were ruthless in its degradation and destruction. The Jalali kingship was a living reaction against the prevalent concepts of politics. Jalaluddin felt the dire need for a new orientation in the laws of politics. As dread, fear, and punishment lacked power to change the heart of man and to create a sense of loyalty and attachment in the people, he introduced the principle of non-killing in order to bring about not only the complete transformation of kingship,

but of the people also. The ethics of the Jalali kingship was dynamic and exerted influence on the State and society. It stood for a moral principle which had its source in the laws of Islam. It was the spirit of Islam that permeated the whole Jalali kingship. The idea of aggression, destruction, and bloodshed was repugnant to Jalaluddin as it had no Islamic sanction. Kingship was to rule in order to preserve life, to maintain peace and order, and to promote the general welfare of the people. The cardinal principle in the Jalali kingship was to spiritualize the laws of politics and the principles of statecraft. The whole duration of the Jalali kingship was a period of trial and test. It experimented with truth. It had to do the spade work for the popularization of his philosophy of Islamic humanism; it also liberated moral and humanizing forces in the domain of politics that were utilized later in the shaping of the Indo-Muslim kingship. As it was in the quest of new ideas and new ways, its task became all the more arduous. The kingship of Jalaluddin had to undo in order to reset. But its contribution to the political philosophy was positive. The humanized kingship was the achievement of Jalaluddin. A marked urge was witnessed towards politicization after Jalaluddin whose murder signalized a reaction against Jalalism. Party politics led to the extinction of the Jalali kingship. The rise of the king-

ship of Alauddin was conditioned by the political philosophy of the Karah party. It was preached that usurpation of kingship depended on the possession of wealth. It was considered synonymous with sovereignty. The political activities of Alauddin before his usurpation of kingship were directed towards the accumulation of enormous wealth and paraphernalia of warfare. The Karah politics was his guiding spirit. The revolt against Jalaluddin was not due to the forces of spiritualization in the sphere of politics. It was the result of an inward urge for the usurpation of kingship. The advent of the kingship of Alauddin marked a new phase in the political development of medieval India. Politicization was its chief characteristic. Alauddin's political philosophy was devoid of ethical force. As the 'Alai kingship was the outcome of the forces of politics, so it thrived on the laws of politics. The spirit of politics was its life-sustaining force. The 'Alai kingship freed itself from the domination of religion. It divorced politics from religion because of their antithetical nature. Its pivotal idea was that religion had nothing to do with political forces and served no purpose in the field of politics. The separation of powers—political and religious—was effected with a view to realizing the political ideal. Politics had its own world and its laws had direct bearing on statecraft. The 'Alai kingship had its

source in political realism. Conquest, domination, and governance were its different aspects. The chief concern of the 'Alai kingship was not only to rule, but also to look after the welfare of the people. The problems of government had to be tackled from the standpoint of politics. Alauddin completely disregarded principles of religion in matters of governance. To him kingship was absolute and indivisible. It was a law unto itself and was under no obligation, surveillance, tutelage to any other power—political or divine. No law was superior to it. The basis of the 'Alai kingship was political and its adherence to political laws was natural. It made no attempt to infuse the spirit of ethics or of religion into statecraft. Anti-religious influences in the domain of politics were undoubtedly generated, but in social life religion was tolerated as a decorum. It was the attitude of colossal indifference to and utter disregard for religion that manifested itself in the 'Alai kingship. It did not even exploit religion, nor was the agency of religion employed for the persecution of the people in order to achieve the political purpose. But interference of religion in politics, statecraft, and kingship was not tolerated. The ideal and practice of the 'Alai kingship gave ample proof of secularization of the State. Alauddin stuck to the secular principle. That the affairs of government could never be managed by follow-

ing the laws of religion, was the conviction of Alauddin. But the 'Alai kingship could not even solve the problems of government by dissociating itself from the laws of religion. Though it succeeded in politicizing thoroughly governmental institutions, yet it could not evolve political principles for the healthy development of the State. The reason was that the psychological make-up of the 'Alai kingship was defective and abnormal. As it originated in the idea of usurpation and of wealth-power, it lacked the moral background as well as the Islamic legal sanction. Laws of politics controlled and directed its activities and movements. It was the great concern of Alauddin to keep intact only the 'Alai State—a creation of his own. It is a fact that he created it by risking his life. The 'Alai kingship represented the different stages of the State in its evolution. Alauddin was a living political man in the 'Alai kingship. The State was Alauddin. He willed and shaped it. The very idea of the destruction of the 'Alai State conveyed to him the idea of death. To him the State was a symbol of activity and life. He did his utmost in retaining it. The 'Alai State was his life-blood. His political instinct was so robust that he was ever ready to tackle political problems. To combat the forces of disruption the kingship of Alauddin did not show signs of sloth, slackness, and senility. Its political liveliness was most

marked during the revolts that had cropped up in the 'Alai State. Though these were symptomatic of political maladjustment, yet their causes were probed into in order to bring about peaceful conditions and to retain the undisputed sovereignty of the State. It was found that the social, political, and economic factors were instrumental in creating revolts that had threatened the life of the 'Alai State. The kingship of Alauddin devised ways and means to counteract the forces of disintegration by enforcing strict and drastic measures without discrimination of race or creed. Freedom of movements and activities, of forming associations and cliques, of economic exploitation was restricted to the narrowest limit, because all these forces—social, political, and economic—were after the destruction of the State. The underlying idea in introducing such punitive measures was not to harass the people, not to indulge in their general persecution as a policy, but to fight the forces of evil in order to save the State from peril. The 'Alai State launched forth a planned scheme of control and regimentation. In other words, it was a well-calculated and thought-out plan of governance for the welfare of the people. The backbone of political parties was smashed to pieces. The monopoly of the politicals was challenged and usurped. The tyranny of the powerful over the weak was put an end to. The idea of political

obedience to the State was inculcated upon the minds of the people—the privileged as well as the non-privileged, the strong as well as the meek, the insurgent as well as the defaulter. The 'Alai kingship had developed itself into a dictatorial power. Its basis was to be found in its militaristic strength. The 'Alai State adjusted itself to political conditions. The abnormality in the domain of politics had changed it into a militarist-dictatorship. The 'reforms' as well as punitive measures were introduced in order to usurp straightaway all powers—social, political and economic—which the people wielded against the State. This drive towards regimentation was a forced necessity. The 'Alai State was compelled to interfere with the lives of the people, to persecute the renegades, and to confiscate the property. The whole life of the people had to be State-controlled. Even the economic 'reforms' were inaugurated for facilitating easy militarization. The reign of Alauddin characterized that political aspect of the Indo-Muslim kingship which grappled in all earnestness with the problems of politics. But it did not succeed in cementing the foundation of the State. Drastic measures and militarism only helped in bringing about 'pent-up' peace and order. It succeeded in removing the superficial political symptoms but failed to cure the political disease which lay deep. After the death of Alauddin the

country passed through a period of political chaos for sometime. The rise of the Tughluq power arrested the growth of anarchic tendencies in the sphere of politics. Though it raised the cry of religion in danger, it was in fact only a political resurgence to master the political situation. It cannot be denied that the advent of the Tughluq power was a new phase in the political development of the Indo-Muslim kingship. The Tughluq kingship was a moral potentiality and its existence was enough to counterbalance the forces—social, political and religious. The whole reign of the Tughluqs is a fascinating study in the problems of politics and statecraft. The Tughluq kingship had its three different aspects. The founder of the dynasty—Ghiasuddin—was not only the saviour of the institution of kingship, but was a great supporter of the principle of the fitness-to-rule in kingship. To him kingship was the ideal, the supreme principle. He abhorred despotic kingship. The object of kingship eventually materialized itself in the idea of the welfare of the people. Its basic idea was active benevolence. It aimed to do good to the people. It radically differed from the 'Alai kingship. The kingship of Ghiasuddin thrived on cardinal principles—justice, beneficence, mercy, kindness, and moderation. And it infused a new spirit into politics and statecraft. That the prolongation of the life of

the State depended on efficiency and utilization of qualified human skill and technical knowledge, was the standpoint of Ghiasuddin. He was also against nepotism as a policy in statecraft. It was the nobility of the ideal of kingship which made him scrupulous and clean in his dealings with the affairs of the State. It was not the intoxication of political power that guided his judgment and action. But it was the deep sense of responsibility to the State and obligation to the people that made him humble and low in his own eyes. The kingship was not a whimsicality, but a burden of responsibilities. It was a public trust. Ghiasuddin was no believer in the autocratic principle of life. It was the higher urge in him to elevate life—social, religious, and political—to protect the people and to safeguard the vested interests of all. His influence became perceptible even in the domain of politics and statecraft. The kingship of Ghiasuddin was a refuge for the poor. The high-handedness of the officials, and the exploitation of the poor by the rich and the privileged were stamped out during his reign. It was indeed a protective kingship. Before we pass on to the second aspect of the Tughluq kingship, it may be mentioned here that the forceful personality of Ghiasuddin broke down the artificial political barriers and created a new and healthy atmosphere in the State. He revalued the laws of politics in the light of human interest and

progress. The 'Alai ways and methods were not only discredited but set at naught in order to bring about the resuscitation of the State. It was in fact a new departure from the old, but the new regime was surcharged with the spirit of humanism. The rebirth of a humanized state was witnessed during the reign of Ghiasuddin. Muhammad Shah succeeded Ghiasuddin as a king. His was the most unique Indo-Muslim kingship. Historians call him as 'one of the wonders of creation'. We cannot possibly deal with this gorgeous and colourful personality in full. We shall only try to bring out in bold relief some of the salient characteristics of the kingship of Muhammad Shah. We may also mention that there never sat on the throne of Delhi in medieval times so baffling and absorbing a personality as that of Muhammad Shah. Historians have done great injustice to him because they failed to grasp the forces in such an evasive human personality. Muhammad Shah was a born-king, but not a despot or a tyrant. The idea of greatness of vision in kingship was Muhammad's. He conceived and visualized it. It was not the day-dreamer's philosophy but the dynamic force in the kingship of Muhammad that goaded him to launch cut schemes for the welfare of the people. Experimentations in politics and statecraft were the life-pulsating movements of his kingship. These were not the

freaks of an erratic mind. The idea of welfare was behind the scheme of change and reform. It was the thought—the creative impulse—that possessed the whole kingship of Muhammad Shah. To create, not to destroy, was its philosophy. It was inspired with the idea of political, social, and religious progress. The State authority as a symbol of regulative, formative, and adhesive force found its culmination in the personality of Muhammad Shah. Though in a way it functioned for the general uplift as a 'dictatorial' State, it generated liberalizing force in the social as well as political sphere. The elements of political dogmatism and the soul-killing principle of *status quo* had no place in his scheme of things. The kingship of Muhammad Shah also preached the philosophy of political authoritarianism, because it was considered the fountain-head of political activism. The absolute power did not emanate from the people, but was inherent in kingship. Political obedience to kingship was obedience to the laws of God. But the reign of Muhammad Shah witnessed a clash between the ideal of kingship and the world of political forces. His victimization was due to the age and its time-spirit. The third aspect of the Tughluq kingship was the Firozian, which represented the benefactor as a power in the domain of politics and statecraft. It set a living reaction not against the political philosophy of Muhammad-

Shah, but also against the political kingship as such. It was the re-emergence of the religious spirit that hovered over kingship, politics, and statecraft during the reign of Firozshah. To him kingship was not political, but religious. Principles of politics and statecraft were not only overhauled but also religionized to suit the temperamental need of the Firozian kingship. The complete transformation of the political State into a new ethico-Islamic State was a Firozian feat of no minor importance. Its basis became Islamic as well as cultural. Promotion of Islamic and cultural values was its life-mission. It depoliticized itself by Islamizing and culturalizing its foundation. It also negated the A B C of politics and devalued political laws. Such an abrupt change in the concept and structure of the State was partly due to the religious man in the personality of Firozshah and partly to the bankruptcy of the political philosophy of the times. The unchecked play of the absolute political power was considered a danger in itself. The rule of the naked sword failed to cement the foundation of the State and lacked power and strength to establish a natural relationship between the State and the people. The Firozian kingship adopted the Asokan principles of statecraft to neutralize the evil effect of the laws of politics and to inaugurate a new social and political order for the well-being of the people. The basis

of the State was reinforced by the vitalizing force of humanism. Though the Firozian kingship was Islamic, yet the welfare of the people was its prime concern. The culturalizing force was its outstanding characteristic. During the whole reign of Firozshah the kingship lost its autocratic and aggressive spirit and was seen drifting towards a constitutional and limited monarchy. The real contribution of the Tughluqs to the further development of the Indo-Muslim kingship lay in the liveliness of interest in the solution of the problems of government with a view to making the lives of the people happy, contented, and progressive. The Tughluq kingship as a whole was public-spirited and laboured in the way of public weal. The justification of its existence was in the relentless and sustained attempt at bringing about changes in politics, statecraft, and the structure of the State for the good of the people. After the Tughluqs the reins of government passed into the hands of the Afghans, whose political philosophy was the outcome of their tribal history. They ill-fitted in the scheme of monarchical framework, because their tribal life and institutions had the germs of 'republican' ideas. Their 'twist' into the monarchical way was a long drawn-out struggle for them. In many respects the Afghan kingship had to forgo their social traits in order to retain the institution of kingship. It was difficult for

them in the beginning of their political career to adjust themselves to the Indian condition and environment and to appreciate the political traditions and usages, evolved through the age-long existence of the Indo-Muslim kingship. During the whole tenure of the Afghan kingship the idea of the welfare of the people as a principle of government materialized itself. Though it retained unto the last its Afghan traits and characteristics, the government of the country aligned itself with the interests of the people. In the well-being of the people the Afghan kingship saw its own well-being. It underwent a process of naturalization and thus succeeded in introducing conducive laws and regulations for the practical guidance of statecraft. It was in the sphere of practical politics that the Afghan kingship excelled. The culmination of the Indo-Muslim kingship reached in the Mughals—a virile race characterized by unbounded powers of adjustability, of humaneness and of vision and outrivalled other races in sound commonsense and robust instincts. Their racial character left an imperishable stamp on their kingship in India. It was the mysterious, the philosophic, and the artistic aspects of their nature that shaped the psychology of their kingship. It was the inward urge of the man in the Mughals that aspired to conquer not only the country, but its heart also. In the evolution of the Mughal kingship in India

the whole man in his varied forms and expressions appeared on the stage of human drama. Babar heralded the dawn of a new era of hope and creative activity. His was an unique personality, full of vim and vigour, grit and go, faith and compassion. He symbolized the Mughal ideal, the faith in the creativeness of man. The spirit of the Mughal adventurer immortalized itself in the establishment of a living 'Padshahi'. The Builder and the Warrior were the most fascinating phases of the kingship of Babar. The warrior laid the foundation of an empire and the Builder was a man of refined tastes and vision. It was the genius of the Builder in Babar that showed him the way to reconstruct the empire-idea on humanizing principles. He laid down an unalterable law that to rule did not signify the rule of the sword, but a rule over the hearts of the people. This was the cardinal principle of the kingship of Babar. To rule India was to understand and appreciate India. That it was not the appreciative attitude of a foreigner towards a country which could help in the understanding of problems, was Babar's idea. But he asserted that the genuine appreciation consisted in the full recognition of the spirit of India as it manifested itself in variegated forms of life—social and religious. Babar's viewpoint was that different religions in India were like the different seasons of the year. As the different seasons

represent different temperatures, climates, varieties, and colours, so different religions are different mental patterns and expressions of India. As seasons are natural, so religions are the natural outcome of different cultures. Babar's extraordinary grasp of human mind was astounding. The spirit of Babar was treasured in the lives of the Mughal kings as a living legacy. They were influenced and guided by it in handling human affairs. Its fullest expression was Akbar the Great. His towering personality had flashes of political sagacity, generosity of instinct, and loftiness of vision. He put into practice the noble ideal of his grandfather. Of all the kings of the medieval India Akbar understood the mind of India most, and identified himself completely with the Indian *Weltanschauung*. The kingship of Akbar was not only directional, formative, and educative, but also synthetical. That the synthesis of ideas, forms, expressions, and ways hallmarked it, was no political make-shift. But it was the result of the eclectic principle of life that formed and fashioned the kingship of Akbar. His greatness was in the thorough adaptation to Indian form and spirit in order to rule over the hearts of the people of India. He personified the ideal of the Chakravartin. To govern India as a foreigner was not his aim but his life-mission was to govern for the good of India. His idea of sovereignty did not thrive on the clash of powers, but on their

harmonization and fusion. He visualized in the political, social, and religious unity the solidarity of the Mughal State. His ulterior *motif* was not the destruction and dismemberment of Indian powers, but their absorption into a bigger State as federated political units. He had the mystic sense and the vision of a great king. He realized once for all that the kingship of the Mughals would ever be exposed to an inherent danger, if it did not take cognizance of the forces behind political and social reality. Akbar saw a ray of hope in the full recognition and assimilation of political, social, and religious factors. It was on their strength that the Mughal kingship could survive. It was the urge for Indianization that transformed him completely. The kingship of Akbar generated such potential forces that political principles of the past had to be rejected because they failed to broaden the State. Akbar created a new State with a view to developing to the full Indian aspirations and ideas in all their manifold forms and expressions. It was the unfolding of the potentialities of the spirit of India that he strove to achieve. The new Mughal State as the creation of Akbar was above race, caste, and creed. It functioned for the protection and well-being of the people. It was an active lever for their social, religious, and cultural uplift. The kingship of Akbar evolved on nationalistic principles. Its

cultural background was of a permanent nature. Akbar the Great was the creator of a new India or an India surcharged with germs of a common national culture. The all-domineering spirit of Akbar the Great served as a beacon light to the later Mughal kings.

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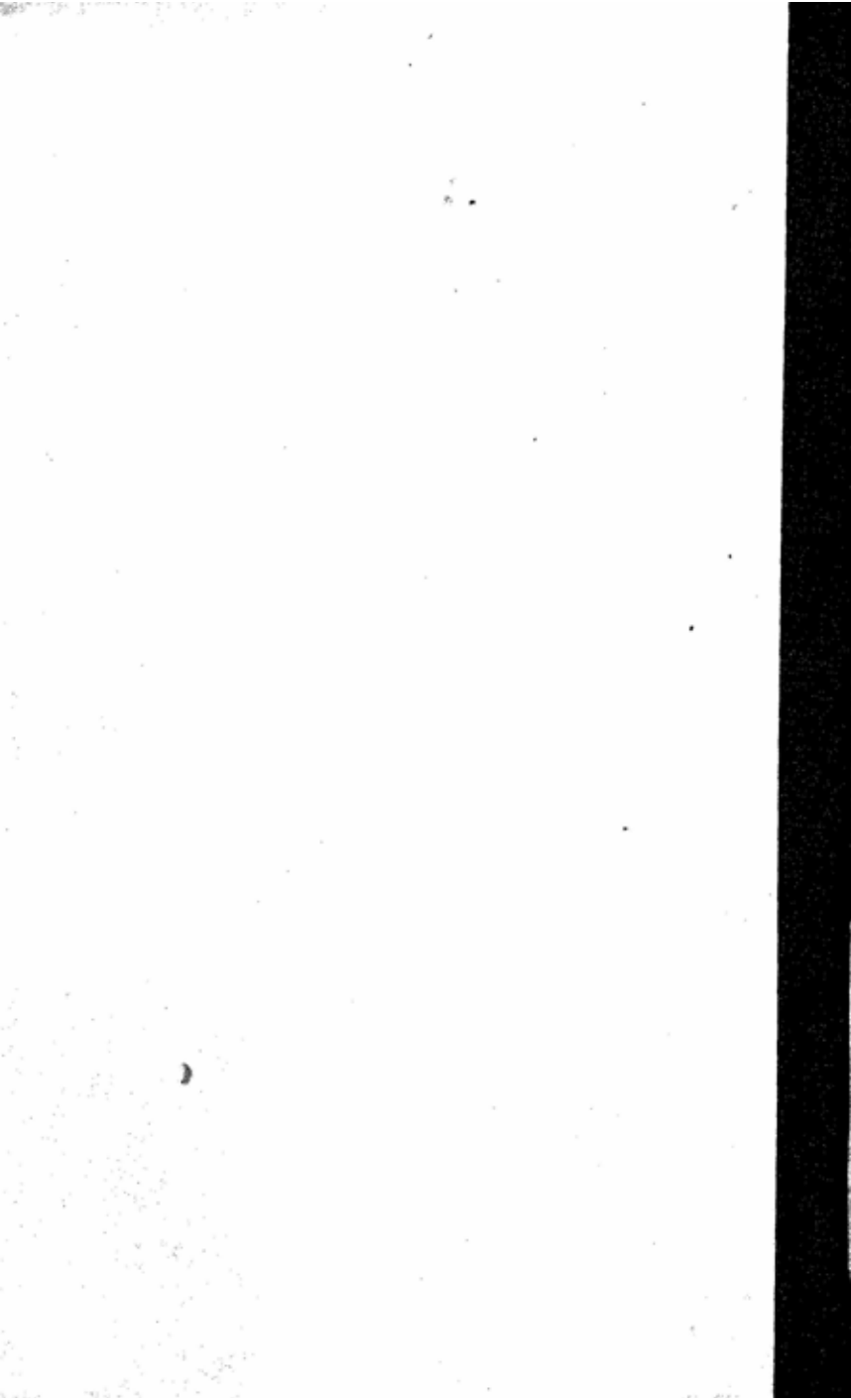
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